Daily Report

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Public Rallies Throughout Country Noted

AU0412105689 Sofia BTA in English 1916 GMT 3 Dec 89

[Text] Sofia, December 3 (BTA)—The rallies and meetings held in many towns at which in an atmosphere of a free and pluralistic dialogue serious local problems and the situation in the country were discussed are commented on by the press as a proof of the rapid increase of the Bulgarians' political activity.

In Sofia, at a meeting of the Independent Human Rights Society it was pointed out that there are real conditions which make it possible for Bulgaria to make its start along the path of democracy. The meeting was attended by leaders of the International Federation of Human Rights. The participants approved an address to Petur Mladenov, in which it is proposed to accelerate social democratization, it is announced by RABOTNICHESKO DELO.

The same paper carries a report on the rally of hundreds of citizens in the town of Yambol who demanded that personal indictment should be brought against the former leaders. A resolution addressed to the National Assembly expresses support for the course of the new leadership of the Bulgarian Communist Party and the state and insists on efficiently solving political, economic and social problems in a material sense.

According to the paper about ten thousand people attended the four-hour rally in Stara Zagora at which different informal associations in the town presented their programmes.

Yesterday the independent ecological society Ecoglas was established in Plovdiv. In its policy statement Ecoglas points out that it is necessary to keep citizens' fully informed about the ecological situation in the region and the country, including by carrying out independent investigations. It is insisted that a Press Law should be passed and that the article of the constitution guaranteeing the leading role of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] should be deleted.

In Pazardzhik more than five thousand people attended the meeting organized by independent societies in the town. Most of the speakers expressed support for the changes after the November Plenums of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP. They underlined that the restructuring cannot be and must not be the monopoly of the BCP and the government. The appeal "work, not meetings" was renounced as "an attempt to hinder the process of democratization". It was pointed out that the whole people should be made a party to the radical measures for innovation taken by the new party and state leadership and that it is these two forces which can guarantee the irreversibility of the processes.

The meeting adopted a resolution addressed to the chairman of the National Assembly in which it is insisted on bringing the constitution of the country and the operative laws in line with international law, canceling Article 1 of the Bulgarian Constitution which contains provisions for them leading role of the BCP and on giving guarantees for multiparty democracy.

In Tolbukhin, Vidin, Yambol

AU0212202389 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 2 Dec 89

[Text] Rallies in support of democratization and restructuring were held in the town of Tolbukhin, in Vidin, and in Yambol. Support was expressed for the decisions of the November plenums of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and of the recent session of the National Assembly. The participants in the rallies raised a number of pressing issues, including imparting more dynamism to the processes of renewal.

Resignations Demanded

AU0212164189 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 2 Dec 89

[Text] A thousands-strong rally took place in Vidin today in this cold weather in support of glasnost, democracy, restructuring, and the new political course of the Bulgarian Communist Party. The meeting lasted almost 4 hours and was organized at the initiative of the Citizens' Council Club.

Over 30 people made speeches, representing all sections of the population, in order to voice their concern over, first and foremost, the state of industry and agriculture, as well as problems of morality and legality.

Many proposals were made on behalf of the Citizens' Council Club, the Podkrepa independent trade union, and the local citizenry, for gradual increases in minimum wages, pensions, annual leave, [words indistinct] the media, and for the resignations from their posts of party, economic, and state leaders who were not elected as people's councillors at the last elections.

Journal Views Rallies

AU0112114189 Sofia STURSHEL in Bulgarian No. 2, 285, 24 Nov 89 pp 1, 2

[Article by Georgi Drumev, Georgo Aleksandrov, Mikhail Veshim, and Sergey Traykov: "The Ice of Fear Has Broken"]

[Text] Even the most drastic adjustment of prices in Bulgaria did not give rise to such universal jubilation, such unadulterated rapture, such an unleashing of emotions and uncorking of bottles in our towns and villages as on those November days when Europe and the world rediscovered Bulgaria, and the press agencies distributed the news of the fall of Todor Zhivkov, Europe's oldest dictator. After 45 years of uninterrupted progress—at least for 2 days—there were no queues in front of Sofia's shops. The people were attending rallies!

Such a miracle had never occurred before—for the whole of Sofia to gather to declare support for the general secretary—two rallies, but with a single aim.

The first rally, which started at 1600 hours on Friday, 17 November, was organized by "the committees of political and social forces under the Fatherland Front"—an organization with special experience in organizing rallies during working time (we do not report the speeches because they have been widely covered in the mass media). However, the organizers of the display of enthusiasm had underestimated the political heat of the moment, and the rally leader decided to rush the event through in 40 minutes, finishing 10 minutes before the end of the working day! Another possible reason was because the top attraction of the season, namely Lazar Stamboliev—chairman of the Sofia City Fatherland Front Council, who was the main speaker at the rallies "for national unity" held at the end of May and beginning of June—was not among the orators appearing. The 100,000 (according to BTA figures) participants in the rally voted for the declaration (also published in full) in the following manner: Through force of habit, the rally leader declared that the declaration was accepted unanimously, which prompted a stormy reaction from the public, which evidently did not want to be identified with those voting that same day in the National Assembly. After the meeting had closed, the organizers invited the assembled citizenry several times to disperse and dedicate themselves to peaceful, creative labor—for the rally did indeed take place in working time, but the population, having all at once realized that it was no longer a mere population, displayed noteworthy civil disobedience. The chants continued of "Glasnost, democracy, free elections!" On the placards, ragged from use at previous meetings, new slogans also appeared: "Less militia—more democracy!" "Watch out—the Zhivkovites are changing their colors!" These were intended for the representatives of the top leadership, who were present. The special attention paid to these slogans aroused a slightly sour impression: As if it was not enough for them to have special shops, they even need special slogans for this from above!

Despite the poor publicity given by the national mass media, as early as 10 o'clock on the morning of Saturday, 18 November, "thousands of citizens," as reported in certain newspapers, filled the square in front of the St Aleksandur Nevski Memorial Church and the surrounding streets. Others climbed trees, clambered onto balconies, and even climbed onto the roofs of buildings. This time the cameramen, already a little exhausted by the pan shots taken at the Friday rally, limited themselves to close-ups of "groups of citizens," without placards wherever possible! This indeed required an extraordinary degree of professional skill, since the forest of placards blocked the whole view. Placards with slogans like: "Komsomol, where are you? We are here!" "We want a law-governed state, not a Pravets-governed state!" [Pravets is Zhivkov's home town] "Do not decide our fates unanimously!" "Publish pensions, not your own salaries!" "Watch out folks, do not let November turn into another April!" [reference to the April 1956 plenum that marked the start of Zhivkov's policies] "Cut the Internal and Defense ministries by 80 percent!" "A Bible in every home!" and "Where do we go now?" As old press hands, however, we stood behind a completely blank placard carried by an unknown citizen, who was waiting for the end of the rally—or perhaps the Great Change! —in order to tack himself onto the victorious side.

It is not our job to criticize the authorities for permitting such gatherings—although we do understand their position!—but the selection of speakers, sorry to say, was perhaps not one of the most successful. They were all former "national apostates," "traitors," "totally discredited demagogues," and even former political prisoners or people merely under investigation, let out on 100 leva bail! In general, one may say, six of one, and half a dozen of the other! Most of my colleagues from the mass media acted very correctly by sparing the people superfluous details, and lumped all the organizers under the general term of "independent clubs and societies," tactfully omitting to mention the precise organizations on whose behalf the speakers made their addresses. In fact, they spoke on behalf of the Club for Support of Glasnost and Restructuring, the "Podkrepa" Independent Union, the Independent Association for Defense of Human Rights, Club 273, the Bulgarian Helsinki Committee, the Independent Students Association, the Independent "Ecoglasnost" Society, and the Committee for Defense of Religious Rights, Freedom of Conscience, and Spiritual Values.

Whereas the Friday meeting was one of deep emotion and joy at the changes, the Saturday rally, in our opinion, departed from its theme and triggered off all kinds of demands: for freedom and democracy, for elimination of censorship, for a multiparty system, for immediate free elections, for separation of judicial, legislative, and executive powers, for immediate cadre changes, and so on.... One of the speakers even asked his audience to give a vote of confidence on credit to Petur Mladenov, to allow him to complete his changes. "Can we give it to him?" he asked, and the thousands answered: "Yes we can!" Thus the credit was granted. After 3 hours on their feet, the participants in the rally adopted a resolution, but not unanimously, since two votes were cast against. We will not quote the resolution, since our colleagues from the mass media, experienced in recapitulation, summarized the main demands under three groups, omitting certain truly petty demands, such as the following: elimination of censorship in publishing and the mass media, allowing all citizens access to their personal files in the Ministry of Internal Affairs, providing guarantees for the free return to Bulgaria of all persons expelled for political reasons, disbanding the notorious Sixth Directorate of the State Security—which, according to the resolution, is engaged in maintaining total surveillance on the intelligentsia, and ensuring conditions for the normal operation of all independent groups and associations.

Whereas the Friday rally ended with joyous unorganized marches through the streets of Sofia, the Saturday meeting continued its work in sections: in the courtyard of Sofia University, in Liberty Park, and in Hyde Park (the former Southern Park).

Are we able then to celebrate Day One of Bulgarian democracy? We scribblers would have a hard time if every other day of the year was like this! But what can one do? It is better than for Day Two to come 35 years later!

Prisoners Make Demands, Hold Strikes

AU0412111889

[Editorial Report] Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian on 29 November on page 3, under the headline "We Report But Cannot Support," carries two reports and an "editorial note" related to the hunger strikes in Bulgarian prisons, reported by the Bulgarian mass media.

The first is a 100-word "own report" on the 28 November meeting in Sofia prison, at which representatives of the prisoners met with representatives of the National Assembly Legislative Commission, the Ministry of Justice, the Ministry of Internal Affairs and "other interested organs," and presented their demands.

The second is a 40-word report by Nikolay Zhelev, "oblast correspondent," entitled "Varna," and reporting the hunger strike of the prisoners in Varna prison, and their meeting with Emil Ivanov, okrug prosecutor, and Stoycho Stoev, commander of the prison. Zhelev also reports that "a part of the prisoners' questions, which were within the competence of the prison administration and the framework of the law, were answered by Emil Ivanov, okrug prosecutor, and Stoycho Stoev, commander of the prison."

In addition to the two reports the newspaper carries the following "editorial note":

"To achieve a total amnesty through a hunger strike—this is the basic element in the contents of the demands. Those demands are being presented by people who have repeatedly violated the laws, created in order to defend society. Their desire to leave prison as soon as possible is understandable. The process of democratization strengthens both their desire and hope. However, no country would agree to or allow itself such a step. The old Roman proverb reads: The law is harsh, but it is still the law! The prisoners committed their crime after the laws had been adopted and not before, thus they knew very well what consequences they could suffer. Then?

"Petitions to mitigate the sentences, review the cases and verdicts, appeals—those are things to which society can respond. The Penal Code and legislation that regulates the penal-executive activity can be improved. The same applies to improving everyday life and hygiene in the prisons. All this is possible. There are probably other things that could be changed in a positive direction. However, to try and put society on its knees under the guise of 'struggling for democracy and supporting restructuring,' will hardly be allowed by society itself.

"We can inform the Bulgarian people about the demands posed by the prisoners, but we cannot support them. Our opinion coincides with their position in one point—a large part of the causes of their crimes are rooted in the shortcomings of our socioeconomic development. However, this is nothing new—it applies to all states. It precisely is the elimination of those causes that represents one of restructuring's basic tasks, and a goal toward which we are striving.

"All this is not easy, and it will not take place quickly. However, the joint efforts to create a civic society, that is guided by the best possible laws, and observes them, will facilitate the achievement of this goal."

Strike Ends at Vratsa

AU0412111589 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 30 Nov 89 p 6

[Iliya Borisov report: "Strike in Vratsa Prison Ends"]

[Text] Vratsa, 29 November—Today, at about 0700, I visited the prison. The duty officers told me that the situation is normal, and that all prisoners are working.

How did the events develop in the last 2 days? Colonel Yordan Yordanov, commander of the prison, answers:

"On the morning of 27 November, the prisoners declined to accept food and presented demands related to reviewing the Penal-Procedure Code, the Penal Code, and the Law on Serving Penalties. We accepted their proposals, which were addressed to the National Assembly Legislative Commission, and conveyed them to the competent organs. At the meetings that were conducted with representatives of the prisoners, it became clear that they have no claims against the prison management in anything related to the officials' attitude toward them.

Strike in Bobov Dol Prison

AU0112191189 Sofia BTA in English 1748 GMT 1 Dec 89

(Text] Sofia, December 1 (BTA)—Part of the prisoners serving sentences at the prison in Bobov Dol (South-West Bulgaria) refused to go to work on Wednesday. Another twenty-five prisoners refused to go back to the prison and remained in the Bobov Dol mine, their work-place. They went on strike, making demands similar to those made by the prisoners in Sofia, Vratsa and Varna who were also on strike a few days ago: amnesty, changes in the Penal Code, improvement of the conditions of living in prison, of food and remuneration.

Their demands were studied and measures were taken for the immediate settlement of some problems related to the prisoners' living conditions.

As a result of a number of meetings and talks between representatives of the prison's management, the Chief Prosecutor's Office and the management of the mine on one side and strikers on the other, today at noon 62 prisoners discontinued their strike. Only 23 prisoners continued it, remaining in the Bobov Dol mine. All of them are recidivists with several sentences for murder, rape and other serious crimes.

Many of the prisoners did not join the strike.

Voters Demand Zhivkov Removal From Parliament

AU0112180589 Sofia BTA in English
1627 GMT 1 Dec 89

[Text] Sofia, December 1 (BTA)—The organizations of the Bulgarian Communist Party and the public forces of Mikayalovgrad requested the removal of Vladimir Zhivkov from the National Assembly.

The proposal for stripping Vladimir Zhivkov of his MP's mandate is based on the fact that he has been away from the voters of this city in Northern Bulgaria and had only one meeting with them at the time of his election campaign in the beginning of 1986.

The voters have introduced their proposal in the State Council of Bulgaria and in the National Council of the Fatherland Front, writes the TRUD daily today.

Vladimir Zhivkov Denies Accusations Against Him

AU0312190289 Sofia BTA in English
1838 GMT 3 Dec 89

["Letter of T. Zhivkov's Son"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, Dec 3 (BTA)—A letter of Vladimir Zhivkov was read today during on Every Sunday, the most popular television programme. Vladimir Zhivkov, the son of the former BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] and state leader Todor Zhivkov, who until recently also occupied responsible posts, raises objections as to the accusations made against him. He denies that employees of the Lyudmila Zhivkova International Foundation, whose chairman he is, have squandered its funds and that he has lost millions in roulette gambling.

Vladimir Zhivkov, who maintains that he got no salary as chairman of the foundation, demanded that a commission should study the charges laid against him.

Council of Ministers Dismisses Official

AU0112210589 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 1 Dec 89

[Text] On the basis of an instruction from the chairman of the Council of Ministers, Khristo Kirilov Kovachevski, chairman of the Poultry Breeding Economic Association, was dismissed today for gross violations and irresponsible behavior in fulfilling his official duties.

At the end of September 1989, the government called serious attention to the management of the association in question about shortcomings in poultry breeding and [word indistinct]. Despite this warning, nothing was accomplished. A high mortality rate of poultry was allowed to occur and difficulties in the supply of poultry meat to the people arose. Several examples of this were shown in the "Topical Antenna" program on Bulgarian Television on 30 November 1989.

One of the basic problems raised by the labor collectives is related to certain shortcomings and manifestations of subjectivism in introducing the new basic wage schedule. For this reason, the government decided temporarily, as of 1 December 1989, to suspend the introduction of the new wage schedule. This does not apply to employees in the educational and health sectors.

It is envisioned to carry out a state-controlled investigation in companies and other organizations where the new wage schedule has already been introduced, in order to check on the correct application of the system and to adopt measures for eliminating existing shortcomings.

The government instructed the minister of national health and social welfare and the minister of finance to close down pharmacies where medicines are sold in exchange for foreign currency.

Accident in Kozloduy Nuclear Plant Denied

AU3011132289 Sofia BTA in English
1156 GMT 30 Nov 89

["Nuclear Power and the Social Risk"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, November 30 (BTA)—Today's OTECHESTVEN FRONT raises a number of questions in connection with the monitoring of the radiation level in this country, the control over this monitoring and the safety guarantees concerning nuclear power plants.

The occasion is a letter by the Ecoglasnost independent organization of November 14, this year, which reads that according to unconfirmed reports between November 3 and November 5, 1989, there has been a failure in one of the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant reactors and radioactive substances have been thrown in the atmosphere. Several days later, between November 10 and November 13, claims Ecoglasnost, the monitoring stations of the Committee for Environment Preservation have measured increased radioactivity. Further on the letter sets the question about the timely informing of the population in similar cases.

According to the investigation carried out by the newspaper the first tests of rain-water have really shown higher values (4-7 times) but toward the fifth day there have not been any increase in the values.

Apart from that, the Committee for Use of Nuclear Power for Peaceful Purposes which provided the data for the monitoring, has not received information from the

Kozloduy Power Plant about exploitation changes or some accident related to radiation safety, points out the daily.

In spite of the fact that the data in the letter of Ecoglasnost have not been confirmed during the investigation OTECHESTVEN FRONT notes that this letter "gives an expression of the increased interest of the public in the radiation safety". The daily shares the opinion of Ecoglasnost that the informing of the public about these questions has long been a ripe necessity.

The author of the article thinks that the system which has been established for monitoring of the radioactive situation in this country, as well as the modern equipment for measurement and analysis, guarantee that there cannot be a radioactive pollution dangerous for the health of the people that could remain unnoticed. Boris Georgiev, deputy chairman of the Committee for Use of Nuclear Power for Peaceful Aims, says that in the case of worsened radioactive situation or some leakage from Kozloduy, the public will be immediately informed.

The article pays also attention to the demands of the independent civic group for protection from nuclear accidents for the provision of a "real and high safety" of the equipments and the people working at the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant or people living close to it.

The daily offers to revise the system of departmental control over the sources of ionizing radiation, nuclear plants included. It also raises a request for publication of the report on the influence of the Chernobyl mishap in Bulgaria.

Not long ago in an interview for VECHERNI NOVINI (of November 21) the chairman of the Energetics Association Prof. Nikola Todoriev, corresponding member of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, expressed the opinion that the development of the nuclear power supply in Bulgaria is necessary due to economic and ecological considerations, and even for the preservation of the independence in energy respect because this country does not have enough primary power supply resources of its own (about two-thirds of the energy resources are imported).

The Energetics Association will be closed as of January 1, 1990. With a decree of the State Council (November 22, 1989) a Committee for Energetics with the Council of Ministers has been established. Prof. Nikola Todoriev has been assigned its chairman.

Demonstration for Rehabilitation of Gorunya

AU0112112389 Sofia ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME in Bulgarian 28 Nov 89 p 3

[Tsvetan Khristov report: "Public Demand to Rehabilitate Gorunya"]

[Text] Gorna Kremena village. A 2-hour-long meeting, which despite the heavy snow was attended by thousands of people, took place in the native village of Ivan Todorov-Gorunya [well-known wartime partisan leader, whose death in unclear circumstances in April 1965 following the discovery of a plot against then-Bulgarian party leader Todor Zhivkov, was reported by Western media]. The participants demanded an end to the 25-year silence about the drama that took place during the night of 6-7 April 1965.

The local party organization and the village branch of the Bulgarian Agrarian National Union [BZNS] came to the square with their flags. Atanas Konstantinov, member of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] and first secretary of the oblast party committee; Goran Ninov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the oblast people's council; former political prisoners; combat comrades; and partisan supporters and associates of the first partisan of Iskur Region and political commissar of the "Gavril Genov" partisan unit [Ivan Todorov-Gorunya], joined the citizens.

Khristo Marinov, chairman of the local BZNS branch, said: Our motherland has needed reforms for a long time. People have emerged who assumed the responsibility for starting the reforms. However, many others, long before them, died for democracy. Gorunya was one of them.... His village was no different from other villages. His house was no different from ours. He used to keep only 160 leva of his wages for himself, contributing everything else to the Bulgarian Red Cross Fund. He struggled for bright ideals.

Petur Markovski, the person who, under the threat of being arrested, collected the body of Gorunya on 6 April 1965, described memories of his last meeting with him.

The meeting enthusiastically greeted the 24 November 1989 proposal of the Oblast Committee BCP Bureau to the BCP Central Committee Politburo that a party-state commission study the legality of the accusation and decision of the Supreme Court on case No. 2 of June 1965.

The village, which had 7 partisans, 70 political prisoners, and 150 partisan supporters and associates, sent a telegram to the BCP Central Committee that, in addition to unanimously supporting the new BCP political course, contains the following demands:

—That the case against Ivan Todorov, Tsolo Krustev (commander of the "Gavril Genov" Partisan Unit), Tsvetko Anev, and Ivan Velchev, be reviewed and the results reported to the people.

—That the sale of the "History of Vratsa Okrug Party Organization" be stopped.

—That Gorunya's house be turned into a museum.

—That Ivan Todorov's name be placed first in the monument that stands on Gorna Kremena Square.

Tambuev Wants Rehabilitation of Others

AU2911152989

[Editorial Report] Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian on 24 November on page 1 publishes an 800-word article by Georgi Tambuev entitled "What About the Others?"

Tambuev begins by stating: "I am rehabilitated. My own party membership has been restored without interruption" (by the Politburo at its meeting on 13 November). Although back at work in RABOTNICHESKO DELO, he voices his serious concern over the fate of others. Tambuev describes how he himself fell afoul of the authorities with his article entitled "Corruption Dressed in the Clothes of Power" (on corruption by the regional prosecutor in the town of Etropole). He describes how, when his case was investigated by the party, the facts were distorted, so that the case became "a sort of theater of the absurd..., in which the representatives of the Prosecutor's Office and the investigation department danced like puppets," adding that "these institutions ... acted illegally and sycophantically became cat's-paws of the dictatorial caprices of General Secretary Todor Zhivkov."

Tambuev then calls for full rehabilitation of the following wronged persons, all except the first two from the Etropole region: Spas Muletarov, deputy chief prosecutor of Bulgaria, under a cloud because he objected to the legal handling of Tambuev's case; Petur Kostov, an official in the Chief Prosecutor's Office who gave Tambuev information for his article; Tseno Keremidski, first secretary of the Etropole Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP), dismissed and censured for his opposition to Kiril Nestorov's handling of the party investigation into Tambuev; Tsvetan Panchilov, dismissed from the post of secretary of the Etropole Municipal BCP Committee; Krustyo Tsankov, a local cooperative manager; Petko Minev, a kindergarten teacher; and Sergeant Marin Genchev, who was "brutally kicked out because, even before the judicial organs of investigation, he did not deny the truth about the morals of the regional prosecutor." Tambuev demands that "precisely these people must be immediately returned to the ranks. Restructuring has need of them."

Resolution of Trade Union Council Plenum

AU3011132989

[Editorial Report] Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian on 27 November on page 1 publishes the approximately 4,500-word "Resolution of the Fifth Expanded Plenum of the Central Council of Bulgarian Trade Unions, Held on 25 November 1989" in Sofia" under the heading: "The Bulgarian Trade Unions—Independent, Democratic, and Defenders of the Workers."

The resolution consists of a 70-word introductory paragraph followed by three numbered sections, which are subdivided into 14 consecutively numbered subsections, and a concluding paragraph.

Section 1, which totals approximately 1,000 words and includes subsections 1-4, states the plenum's demands for glasnost. It also voices total support for the law-governed state and the country's "new political course."

Section 2, of approximately 1,250 words, contains subsections 5-11 and states the future role of the trade unions, including the following two principal points, printed in capitals:

In subsection 6 it is stated that "the plenum declares the Bulgarian Trade Unions independent: They are independent of political organizations, state organs and structures, economic and administrative leaderships and organizations, and other social organizations and movements;" and

The first sentence of subsection 7 states: "The Bulgarian Trade Unions consider it their principal obligation and main responsibility to represent and defend the rights and socioeconomic interests of their members and the labor collectives."

Section 3, of approximately 2,500 words, contains subsections 12-14 and declares the trade unions' "position on the topical and most pressing socioeconomic issues that must be resolved without delay." The 8 numbered issues set out in subsection 12 are:

1. "Normalization of the market and the lasting elimination of shortages of goods and services for the population."

2. "Creation of conditions for free, interested, and enterprising action by the goods producers."

3. "Rational and fair distribution and thrifty utilization of the national income."

4. "The rise in the cost of living and the critical material situation of certain categories of workers." Detailed suggestions are made for dealing with these problems.

5. "The destabilization in employment." Opposition is declared to any measures that may lead to unemployment.

6. "Bad working conditions."

7. "The alarming state of health care and education."

8. "Rest and recreation and health spa treatment." Subsection 13 expresses trade union support for "the initiatives and actions of the creative and professional unions and all social associations for protecting the interests of people working in science, culture, education, and health care...."

Subsection 14 demands a "halt to encroachments on trade union property and interference in the trade unions' internal affairs."

The concluding paragraph declares that "Bulgaria's fate now and in the future will be decided by eliminating the

distortions and perversions in our life, and most of all by intense labor, in which our salvation lies."

'Podkrepa' Trade Union Mentioned for First Time

AU2311165689 Sofia BTA in English
1329 GMT 23 Nov 89

["The Podkrepa Independent Trade Union"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, November 23 (BTA)—OTECHESTVEN FRONT today writes for the first time in the press about the "Podkrepa" /Support/ [slantlines as received] Independent Trade Union.

It writes that the trade union was founded in February by a nine-member group and now about 30 to 50 people are joining the union daily.

The author of the article has spoken with a number of activists of Podkrepa and does not consider the members of the Independent Trade Union "traitors".

At the same time, however, she does not believe that the nation's problems can be solved by foreign radio stations.

The secretary of the Trade Union National Council Plamen Dyurakchiev, a journalist by profession, explains its structure. According to him there is strong formation in the capital city with several branches according to different professions: of the humanitarian experts, of workers, of technicians and engineers from the industry, as well as from the artistic and creative sphere.

Most numerous are the teachers, doctors, scientific workers; students have also shown interest.

Georgi Spasov, the organization spokesman, who is also a journalist by profession, comments the aims of the independent trade union.

The need is stressed for the trade union to be registered. Opinion is expressed that the trade union is a necessary structure without which it is impossible to make society democratic.

The social and economic objectives of Podkrepa are subjected to the needs to heal society as a whole, to abolish social injustice and increase the living standards.

Sofia Oblast Secretary on Restructuring

AU2311155189 Sofia BTA in English
1448 GMT 23 Nov 89

[Text] Sofia, November 23 (BTA)—In his article headlined "Obedience, Be Obedient, Be A Hanger-On" and published in RABOTNICHESKO DELO Nikola Nikolov, secretary of the Sofia Regional BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] Committee, expressed his views as to the causes for the critical situation the country is in, the role of obedience implanted by different means despite all provisions contained in statutes and regulations requiring free expression of ideas and views.

The formulation "Obedience, Be Obedient, Be A Hanger-On" naturally leads to lack of culture, incompetency, mediocracy, malicious reports and other monstrous phenomena which can dismantle even the most constructive and humane idea.

The way out? The author sees it in the limited-term office-holding, applicable in all cases without any exception.

Then he elaborates on a working mechanism of the expression of pluralism. "Will we allow pluralism to manifest freely itself, will the extremes not sweep it away as something unnecessary, destabilizing and leading to anarchy? We should withstand our positions in any circumstances by all means and should not be afraid of any terms of abuse, including abuses of consequence", the secretary of the Regional Committee wrote.

Glasnost and a dialogue based on equality are also considered efficient means of counteraction by the author.

"But if we want to manifest attitudes and gain confidence in limited-term office-holding, glasnost, dialogue and pluralism we should apply them immediately", Mr Nikolov pointed out.

In OTECHESTVEN FRONT the jurist Georgi Denkov makes proposals in connection with the environment protection and regeneration bill.

Besides the citizens' right to live in a favourable environment laid down in the bill, provisions should be made so that it can be defended though a court of law.

The necessity of categorically prohibiting to make ecological information a state, official or economic secret is also pointed out.

A suggestion is made to hold a national referendum on the future of atomic power generation in the country.

In KOOPERATIVNO SELO Prof. Vasil Mishev dwelt on the situation in agriculture in the country and the urgent measures which have to be taken to overcome the difficulties.

A stress is laid on the necessity to redistribute the national income to the advantage of agriculture, to develop an approach for ensuring labor resources for agriculture and make a radical change of the organizational structures.

The article also touches upon the question of the operative system of state control which in essence does not allow to apply the economic approach in this sector.

Agrarian Party To Probe Execution of Ex-Leader

AU2411092289 Sofia BTA in English
2125 GMT 23 Nov 89

[Text] Sofia, November 23 (BTA)—At a meeting of the Administrative Council of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party (BZNS) it was proposed to form a commission consisting of jurists and politicians which should research and elucidate the truth about Nikola Petkov and other agrarian figures which have suffered due to political causes.

Nikola Petkov (1893-1947) was a renowned figure of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party, member of the leadership of the party in the 30's, MP before September 9th expelled from the Parliament for antifascist activity. [sentence as received] In 1943 he supported the establishing of antifascist Fatherland Front. He was a minister in the first government of the Fatherland Front after September 9, 1944. In 1945 he left the Fatherland Front and established an opposition Bulgarian Agrarian Party which became the main political force of the opposition (1945-47). At the same time he was member of the Parliament. In 1947 he was sentenced to death.

At its meeting the Administrative Council of the BZNS greeted with deep satisfaction and big hopes the new political course, whose beginning was set at the Plenums of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] of November 10 and November 16. Mr Peter Tanchev, secretary of the BZNS, stood for innovation of the party, for its radical restructuring.

A proposal for the adoption of new statute and program of the party was supported. A number of the speakers pointed out the responsibility of the BZNS members for the fate of Bulgaria. It was pointed out that the BZNS will work in equitable cooperation with the BCP for the construction of a democratic and law abiding, economically stable Bulgaria. Special attention was paid to the most burning issues of agriculture and the Bulgarian village.

Sofia Judge Demands Labor Law Specialization

AU2411155989

[Editorial Report] Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian on 23 November on page 2 carries a 1,300-word article by Tsvetana Surlekova, "a judge at No. 6 District Court in Sofia," entitled "We Dream About a Labor Court."

Surlekova begins by referring to the completion in Sofia "a few days ago of a theoretical conference of Sofia judges," which among other things discussed labor law disputes. Surlekova comments that "the participation of the judges in the conference in essence reflected their support of restructuring," but asks how well prepared the judges are for their vital juridical task under the new democratic conditions.

Surlekova points out that the proper court handling of labor law disputes is vital in order to confirm the trust of the population in the legal system. However, "no other law has been subjected to so many amendments and additions as the Labor Code, with a multitude of legal acts issued on its application." She explains that the code is very difficult to interpret in practice: "Regarding a number of passages, practice has shown that the interpretative intervention of the Supreme Court is required." However, the latter bides its time, waiting for more case experience to be gathered, while the judges are left to issue their own verdicts, "thereby creating contradictions and instability in court practice."

This situation, writes Surlekova, has been further exacerbated following the issue of Decree No. 56 on Economic Activity, since "no one has been faced with the question whether the court is able to cope, or whether the judges are able to find their way in the newly created legal situation without any preliminary training whatsoever." She emphasizes that "labor law disputes are not elementary and unimportant" and "their social significance is particularly great," yet special knowledge and training is essential for handling them.

Surlekova then bewails that "our attitude to labor law in general has depreciated," adding that "this fact has a relation to the democracy and humanity of society." She then describes the "bitter experience of us judges in Sofia," where "on 1 July 1986 we created 11 separate courts from the Unified District Court," leading to "an insane increase in the bureaucratic apparatus and an unprecedented inflation of the number of staff." "Precisely 2 and ½ years later," she continues, "on 1 January, for some inexplicable reason, six district courts were set up from the newly created 11 courts." Surlekova supposes that these two wasteful reorganizations were carried out solely because of "orders from above," and then describes the confusion that they have created in the court organization and among the staff. She then urges that "we should rethink our previous practice and be ready to adopt a new one."

Surlekova argues that in order to provide an effective court mechanism for settling labor law disputes under the new economic conditions, "narrow specialization is necessary, at least in a field like labor law." She concludes: "Now we can only dream of a labor court of the kind that have been set up in certain countries, but specialization, as a provisional measure, would meet the requirements, and in my view this is essential."

Defense Ministry Communists Discuss New Era

AU2811180689 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 25 Nov 89 p 4

[Major Georgi Vuchev report: "Valor and Courage" on the general party meeting of Ministry of Defense Communists at the G.S. Rakovski Military Academy Cinema Hallon on 23 November]

[Excerpts] How often has it happened recently, namely following the two November plenums of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Central Committee and the National Assembly Session, to hear people confessing the truth, expressing their sorrows and aspirations with real openness and courage. Immense, accumulated energies broke through the open locks and collapsing dams of stagnation and through the fortress of the command-administrative system. People have proudly raised their heads, they have looked into each other's eyes, and hissed at the banner of justice. We have started shedding, or are trying, at least, to shed the outdated clothes of insincerity, passivity, and formalism. We are all longing for a dialogue, for a frank exchange on the most crucial and urgent problems of our present and future.

These were the thoughts that occupied my mind while I was going to the Cinema Hall of the Military Academy to attend the party conference of the Communists from the Ministry of Defense and of the staff organizations of central Army organs. Dozens of commanders, staff officers, political workers, military experts, and employees were going to the same meeting. The hall was filled long before the beginning of the conference, there were no free seats left.

No portraits, or posters with slogans decorated the stage. No honorary presidium was facing the Communists in the audience, because there was no scenario prepared in advance, there were no statements edited in advance, and no smoothly prepared resolution. Instead of all this we saw numerous movable microphones, numerous cameras, tape recorders, which were ready to make everything that was said in this hall accessible to thousands of soldiers. Even the front seats in the audience were occupied by different people: Senior lieutenants were sitting next to generals, captains next to admirals, and subordinates were sitting side by side with their commanders. They were all sitting side by side like equal party members, as it is appropriate for Communists belonging to one and the same party organization. [passage omitted]

The soldiers of the Bulgarian People's Army will always remember November 1989 as the occasion on which the first open-minded dialogue took place between the new general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council with the Army's high-ranking command staff. [passage omitted]

At this difficult and controversial time, precisely, when the country's future fate is being decided, we are concerned by the fact that part of our society's healthy forces are manifesting a certain confusion and passivity, and are awaiting instructions from above. We are concerned about insufficient skill in conducting political polemics and about occasional manifestations of uncivilized behavior in conducting political discussions which give a green light for extremist elements and undermine initiative.

Let us sincerely admit—do such conclusions drawn in the statements made by Army General Dobri Dzhurov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the State Council at the conference not apply also to the Communists from the Ministry of National Defense leading staff? Does this crucial issue not require from all of us to wage a daily and hourly struggle for the people's confidence and does it not demand our full involvement in political activities?

Let us admit it, the leading cadres and Communists in our Army are not always acquainted with the real state and problems of the soldiers' collectives and their daily requirements. [passage omitted]

Both the defense minister's speech and the numerous statements and questions asked by the audience, as well as the answers to those questions expressed this concern and this understanding, which did not sound timid, or sentimental, but sober and realistic, inspired by a desire for change which presupposes a total coincidence between words and deeds. [passage omitted]

Sharp and uncompromising words were uttered related to the requirement for greater care in selecting, educating, and training cadres, related to the urgent requirement of applying strict measures, if necessary, against soliciting and subjective approach in cadre policy, against deviations and violations of law and military statutes. Measures were also required against those who owe their service ranks to the hitherto practiced methods on this respect. [passage omitted] The rank-and-file soldier was affected by numerous social and everyday life problems in the past and was angered by corruption and by the unlimited power of an arrogant upper crust. He also aspires for just retribution and expects the Ministry of National Defense to adopt actions similar to those of the party and state leadership in this respect. Not only three, or four speakers, as in the past, asked to take the floor and tell the truth, but twice, or three times as many stood up at the aforementioned conference.

The Army is on its post. As in the past, it shall watch over the people's peaceful labor today, tomorrow, and in the future. The Army wholeheartedly supports the new party and state policy aimed at the renewal of society. This and nothing but this could be the resolution of the conference, "signed" by nearly a thousand participants who supported and approved it with their truly sincere and spontaneous applause. Bulgaria could always rely on its courageous and worthy soldiers who are our country's support and its defenders, and will always rely on them. This sincere love and unaffected unanimity do not require any scenarios and slogans, no presidiums, and no flattering statements. It is my conviction that the Army Communists shared my thoughts at the end of the conference.

Politburo Says 1968 CSSR Entry 'Illegal'

AU0212210489 Sofia BTA in English 1946 GMT 2 Dec 89

["Unjustified and Unlawful Actions/Acts"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 2 (BTA)—The Politburo of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] and the Government of Bulgaria studied the question of the entrance of Warsaw Treaty member-countries' troops in Czechoslovakia in 1968.

It was pointed out that the decision made at that time was conditioned by the international situation at the end of the sixties which was characterized by confrontation, armament race and relentless ideological fight. This decision was seriously influenced by deformed concepts of socialist society and the relations among the socialist countries prevailing in the theory and practice of that time which inflicted damage on socialism and the communist movement.

Looking back from today's point of view and from the positions of restructuring and new political thinking, the action taken in August 1968 is assessed as unjustifiable and illegal. History has proved it to be wrong and incompatible with the new course of the Bulgarian Communist Party and the Bulgarian state.

The dynamic processes which have been recently triggered in Czechoslovakia are received in Bulgaria with understanding and sympathy and the conviction is expressed that they will be advanced to the interest of the people of Czechoslovakia and the cause of socialism.

Outcome of Hungarian Referendum Viewed

AU0212131689 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 29 Nov 89 p 5

[Boyko Pangelov article: "First Surprise"]

[Text] The results of the referendum in Hungary, and, more specifically, the manner of electing the president, are surprising. Hardly anyone expected that the initiative of the two relatively small opposition groups—the Alliance of the Free Democrats and the Alliance of the Young Democrats—would find more supporters than the position of the Hungarian Socialist Party [HSP], which proclaimed itself heir of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP], which had ruled Hungary for decades. This is even more puzzling against the background of the fact that at the so-called trilateral negotiations, conducted in the summer between the (then-existing) MSZMP and most of then-opposition parties, it was agreed that the future Hungarian president would be elected by direct elections.

The reasons for the outcome of the referendum are yet to be clarified—this was the first overt measuring of the strength of the HSP against a part of the opposition since the multiparty system was introduced in Hungary. We can, however, point out the following main reasons: the division of the leftist forces and the increasing influence of the Hungarian Democratic Forum—the most significant opposition organization.

The HSP and the MSZMP, which is preparing for its 14th Congress, were not able (and the statements of their leaders show that they did not try), to appear with a common position on the issues included in the referendum. This inevitably had an influence on the decision of the voters, and thus represents the first lesson about the necessity of uniting the leftist forces. As far as the Hungarian Democratic Forum is concerned, this organization called for a boycott of the referendum. The fact that more than 40 percent of those who had the right to vote did not exercise their right indicates the growing influence of this organization, which is trying to keep its distance both from the MSZMP, which until recently used to rule, and the HSP, on the one hand, and the numerous other opposition parties, on the other.

The results of the referendum were the first surprise in the dynamic development of political life in Hungary. Now the voters have decided that the president will be determined by the parliament, after its new members are elected, probably at the beginning of 1990. Thus, the chances of the candidate of the HSP seriously decreased. Judging by the public opinions polls, the Hungarian Democratic Forum has the best chance of winning the parliamentarian election. At the present stage, 27 percent of the voters would have voted for this party. The HSP is in second place with 26 percent, and so forth. If those percentages prevail at the elections, short-term or long-term alliances between the parties will be needed in order to elect the president. Since there are many parties, all kinds of combinations and ... surprises, are possible.

Mladenov Receives Delegation From PRC

AU0112104389 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 1 Dec 89

[Text] On 1 December at the Party Building, Comrade Petur Mladenov received the delegation of the CPC Central Committee led by Qiao Shi, member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau and Central Committee secretary, which is visiting Bulgaria. The meeting was attended by Comrades Andrey Lukanov and Dimitur Stanishev and by Li Fenglin, PRC ambassador to Bulgaria.

Further on Meeting

AU0112163989 Sofia BTA in English 1447 GMT 1 Dec 89

[Text] Sofia, December 1 (BTA)—Mr Petur Mladenov, secretary general of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party], received today the delegation of the CC of the Chinese Communist Party, headed by Mr Qiao Shi, member of the Standing Committee of the Politburo and secretary of the CC of the

Chinese Communist Party which is on an official, friendly visit to this country.

Mr Petur Mladenov cordially greeted the delegation of the Chinese Communist Party and briefed them about the November plenums of the CC of the BCP and the National Assembly session. He acquainted the Chinese guests with the present stage of restructuring and on the political reforms taking place in the country, with the development of the process of democratization.

Mr Qiao Shi spoke about the plenum of the CC of the CPC held in early November this year. He stressed that a peaceful and stable situation is needed in China now to solve the vital economic problems in view of the further increase of living standards.

Mr Petur Mladenov and Mr Qiao Shi stressed the need of further deepening and expansion of cooperation between the BCP and the CPC to the interest of the two people and the building of socialism in Bulgaria and in China.

Delegation Ends Visit

AU0212164589 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 2 Dec 89

[Text] A delegation from the CPC [Chinese Communist Party] Central Committee has been on an official friendly visit to Bulgaria. The delegation was led by Qiao Shi, member of the Standing Committee of the Politburo and secretary of the CPC Central Committee.

The delegation held talks with a delegation of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] led by Comrade Andrey Lukanov. The visitors were informed about the November plenums of the BCP Central Committee, and acquainted with tasks that the Bulgarian Communists and the whole of the Bulgarian people are solving now in the present stage of the restructuring and democratization of political life in Bulgaria.

The two delegations exchanged views on the most important problems of the construction of socialism in Bulgaria and China, as well as on certain international issues.

Political Talks With UK Held in Sofia

AU2511192689 Sofia BTA in English 2225 GMT 24 Nov 89

[Text] Sofia, November 24 (BTA)—Today political consultations were held between the Foreign Affairs Ministries of Bulgaria, Great Britain and North Ireland. The Bulgarian delegation was headed by Mr Lyuben Gotsev, deputy minister. The British delegation was headed by Sir Patrick Wright, permanent deputy state secretary.

The British delegation was acquainted in detail with the changes taking place in this country after the November plenums of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] and the last session of the National Assembly. The Bulgarian side stressed that they should bring to radical changes in the whole spectre of the socio-political life and the economy of the country. The British side expressed the stance that everybody in the East and the West is interested in the success of restructuring in the socialist countries. It was stressed that alongside with the advance achieved in various spheres: the political, the economic, the cultural, tourism, etc., now there are conditions for their stable upward development.

Khristov Visits Italy for Business Talks

AU2311090289 Sofia BTA in English 2351 GMT 22 Nov 89

["Bulgaro-Italian Economic Cooperation"—BTA headline]

[Text] Rome, November 22 (BTA corr.)—At the invitation of Mr Renato Ruggiero, Italian minister of foreign trade, Mr Khristo Khristov, minister of foreign economic relations of Bulgaria arrived here on an official business visit.

The three-day visit agenda includes meetings with state and political figures, with representatives of business circles.

In 1988 goods exchange between Bulgaria and Italy expressed in value amounted to 262 million currency leva or almost twofold the amount of the 1986 one. The goods exchange structure has also been improved. Twenty projects of joint enterprises in the electrotechnique, electronics, metallurgy, the light and alimentary industry are almost complete.

It is expected that joint enterprises and joint investments in Bulgaria, Italy and in third countries will be the major forms of future bilateral cooperation.

GDR Assembly Message on 1968 Invasion Reported

LD0112215889 Prague CTK in English 2129 GMT 1 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin Dec 1 (CTK correspondent)—The GDR People's Chamber expressed regret over the participation of units of the GDR National People's Army in the invasion of the Warsaw Treaty troops in Czechoslovakia on August 21, 1968 at its session here today.

The GDR People's Chamber asked the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly and Czechoslovak people for pardoning.

Citizens Club Demands Husak Resignation

LD0312132389 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1200 GMT 3 Dec 89

[Text] The national committee of the Obroda [revival] Club for Democratic Socialism held a session in Prague. It is an independent organization of our citizens who avow the principles of democratic socialism, humanism, and deep traditions of the Czechoslovak people's struggle for national independence, state sovereignty, and social justice.

The Obroda critically assesses the theoretical and practical steps taken by the Czechoslovak Communist Party leaders, who are still captives of the policy up to now. It considers as the most immediate task of its work to push through the full and legal rehabilitation of all those who were discriminated for political reasons after 1968. It also expresses itself in favor of completing the rehabilitation of all the victims of repressions of the 1950's.

The Obroda Club will strive for achieving the depolitization of the work activities of enterprises, offices, and schools. It goes on to express itself in favor of the resignation of those deputies who lost the citizens' trust. It supports the idea that those people who were linked to the military intervention and the policy which followed should leave public life.

The Obroda Club demands, above all, the resignation of Dr Gustav Husak from the post of the president of the Republic, at the latest by next Sunday when Human Rights Day will be commemorated.

Husak Comments on Resignation Calls

LD0312165489 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1600 GMT 3 Dec 89

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Gustav Husak has congratulated the newly-appointed government members, and stressed that the development of socialism, particularly in the sphere of political democracy and the freedoms and rights of the people has to be thought through and specified in such a way as to match the thinking of our people.

Then he spoke about the calls for his resignation, and the calls that he remain in post for the time being. He reiterated his personal view which he conveyed a few days ago to a group of deputies.

It seems to me, he said, that some people mistakenly think that I want to cling onto my current position at all costs. This is a mistake.

A change in the post of president is a serious issue which must be stressed in a responsible way by political circles and those groups which have recently won considerable acclaim in society.

Personally, I have no ambitions to remain in my post, Gustav Husak stated. I will accept the political decision I have referred to.

Federal Government Meets for 'Last Session'

Adamec Briefs Front on Session

LD0312105189 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1000 GMT 3 Dec 89

[Text] Stanislav Benda reports from the Valdstejn Palace in Prague:

At 0900 the government, in its old composition, met for its last session behind closed doors, without journalists' participation.

The National Front Presidium met 1 hour later at Valdstejn Palace's Leather Saloon. The session was opened by Karel Urbanek, deputy chairman of the National Front Central Committee. Present are Premier Ladislav Adamec, and Minister Marian Calfa.

Karel Urbanek announced that Milos Jakes had asked in a written form to be released from the post of chairman of the National Front Central Committee. Rudolf Rohlicek is to leave the post of deputy chairman: He asked to be releived of the post some time ago because of his being of pensionable age.

Ladislav Adamec is now briefing the members of the National Front Presidium about a proposal on reforming the federal government. Other points on the agenda include a draft on the further course to be taken in preparing a new constitution, and the concept and tasks of the National Front in the current processes, involving our entire society.

Adamec Addresses Government Session

LD0312211889 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 3 Dec 89

[Speech by Federal Premier Ladislav Adamec at first session of the new federal government in Prague on 3 December—recorded]

[Text] The changes that have been carried out in the government's composition represent a federal government step toward carrying through political and economic reforms more resolutely. We are in favor of a thoroughly democratic assertion of the interests of the National Front and other political forces. We proceed from the idea of national understanding among a broad coalition of all who have contributed to leading our society out of the crisis.

Certain changes in the government's composition correspond to the new demands. Although the number of members remains the same, the 40 percent replacement of ministers has resulted in a considerable rejuvenation of the government. The average age has been reduced from 55 to 51 years. The government finally has one woman, and six members are of Slovak nationality. In contrast to the past, the government is not composed only of Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] members. Included in it are representatives of other parties of the National Front: the Czechoslovak Socialist Party and the Czechoslovak People's Party. We shall apply a similar procedure in filling the posts of deputy ministers and other leading officials of the apparatus of the central authorities.

I say openly that in case of need the government can be improved further. This is not a closed government.

We regard the speeding up of social restructuring and the preparation of conditions for holding democratic elections as our basic aim. The content of the federal government's activity in its new composition proceeds from the main directions of the policy statement and other documents. It also takes into account demands voiced in statements of various civic initiatives. We base ourselves on the results of the extensive legislative and economic activity in the preparation of the new economic mechanism. We follow up on the positive things already achieved. We are conscious that today we are working in the new situation. Citizens expect for us to have enough strength, wisdom, knowledge, and courage to forge ahead at an even faster pace.

We are conscious of the necessity of ridding ourselves more resolutely of the residues of old thinking and administrative methods of work. From the outset we have placed the winning of confidence of the population into the forefront. We base ourselves on the realistic assessment of the situation, the truthful view of the causes of mistakes and distortions. We are resolved to make even the most radical changes, provided that this will contribute toward finding effective solutions.

The nationwide movement for renewal, for the renewal of our society, and for its further progressive development has placed the guarantees of the rights and freedoms of individuals, equality of all before the law, and observation of the norms of morality and justice into the forefront. Our intention is to quickly finalize the relevant drafts of the new CSSR constitution, the electoral law, the law of association, assembly, and petition, and many others. Our legal system must be in line as soon as possible with our obligations in the field of human rights.

Our citizens demand that we maintain social guarantees and a standard of living; ward off the threat of inflation; and embark on a path toward prosperity, efficiency, and social justice. The government regards this as one of its main tasks. After all, the majority of people work honestly and live on a well-earned income. They are justly dissatisfied with the fact that our national economy has failed to keep pace with the outside world and that their needs are not satisfied at a corresponding level. We agree on the necessity of preventing economic chaos. We know how many unfulfilled promises exist toward certain groups of people. We shall endeavor to rectify shortcomings gradually. At the same time, however, we say openly that the basis solution lies in combining honest work and skill.

We envisage that we will work out a stabilization program based on achieving savings in expenditure. We possess large reserves in the performance of enterprises and labor productivity. Our future lies in lower demand of energy and raw materials based on the dyanmism of scientific and technical progress. To achieve this we need to open our economy to the world, above all to the most advanced states.

We are not promising that everyone can be better off as of tomorrow. We shall make it possible for everyone to get a higher remuneration for an above-average performance. On the other hand, below-average work cannot be remunerated in the future as it has been up to now.

We are facing the restructuring of the nonmanufacturing sphere. Education, culture, and health service have always ranked among the pride of our nation. We are convinced that the intellectual potential of our country must be used to a substantially greater effect than up to now. We are glad to accept the honest offers of the scientific front for cooperation. We are resolved to draw to a greater degree then hitherto more experts into the preparations of government's decisions. This is in line with our endeavor that the government represents not only all groups of the population but also the views of scientific institutions.

Our society cannot be led out of the crisis situation either by leaving decision making to the bureaucratic apparatus or by retreating in the face of emotions and unrestrained forces. We are in favor of applying highly professional methods of work based on responsibility to the whole society.

In foreign policy the government will consistently promote national interests and strive to increase the authority of Czechoslovakia in the world. We respect fully our obligations arising from our membership in the Warsaw Pact and the CEMA. We are in favor of increasing the effectiveness of cooperation with the Soviet Union. We regard it as necessary to promote even more intensively our joint activity with neighboring states not only in the economic sphere but also in other

areas. Our intention is to ensure that our diplomatic service works with far greater initiative and that it is cheaper and more professional.

We do not want to govern with the aid of cheap promises and build our authority by postponing unpopular measures. We are not closing our eyes to the complications of the course on which are embarking. We are relying, above all, on our resources, on the Czechoslovak potential, on the know-how and skill of our people, on manufacturing capacities, science, and culture. It is primarily toward this that we intend to direct the society-wide dialogue. We are in favor of it being well prepared, mutually demanding and critical without prejudice and in a constructive spirit in the interest of joint seeking and finding positive solutions.

Allow me to appeal, in particular, to the striking students. I have been receiving letters from them in which they voice their concern about the irreversibility of democratic changes or even the danger of intervention by the army. I understand that they are not satisfied merely with verbal assurances. I, too, prefer an argument of deeds and facts. This will provide unequivocal proof of the government's effort to accommodate all reasonable demands and implement them without delay and evasions.

There is only one thing I can say about the role of the Czechoslovak Army and that is that its sole mission is to protect the peaceful life of the population. The government resolutely rejects the solving of political matters by any means other than those which are exclusively political. After all, the government has no other interest than the students have: care for the well being and progress of our homeland, care for its future. In this we are at one with the whole young generation. Let us prove it by our patriotism, by mutual trust and support.

The federal government, in its new composition and amended program, is counting on the support of the citizens of this country, on their patriotic resolve to create a freer, richer, and more contented society. We know our responsibility and are ready to meet it honorably.

Government Holds News Conference

LD0312154489 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1330 GMT 3 Dec 89

[Government news conference at the Federal Government building in Prague—live]

[Text] [Announcer] At this moment, taking his seat on the platform is Bohumil Urban, first deputy federal premier, Marcel Jansen, the news spokesman in charge of the Press Department, as well as Miroslav Pavel, director general of Czechoslovak Television, and other officials. Marcel Jansen has just taken the floor:

[Jansen] Ladies and gentlemen, dear collegues. I would like to open today's news conference, indeed, at the time that we settled on. I appreciate that you are here despite the fact that it is Sunday afternoon, and that you have come in such large numbers. I welcome in our midst Bohumil Urban, first deputy premier of the CSSR Government. The purpose of our meeting is to give you information about the formation of the CSSR Government in its new composition. First I would like to inform you that some ministers of the former federal government have left. You will surely be interested to hear their names.

They are Matej Lucan, first deputy prime minister; Karel Julis, who was deputy premier and chairman of the State Commission for Scientific, Technological and Investment Development; Jaromir Obzina, deputy premier; Milan Vaclavik, former minister of national defense; Frantisek Kincl, minister of the interior; Rantisek Ondrich, minister-chairman of the Committee of People's Control; Jan Sterba, minister of foreign trade; and Miloslav Boda, minister of labor and social affairs.

Bohumil Urban, first deputy premier, will now inform you of the composition of the new government.

[Urban] Comrades, ladies and gentlemen. The CSSR president, on the proposal of CSSR premier, Comrade Adamec, and following consultation with the National Front Central Committee Presidium, has appointed the following government.

First allow me to inform you of the changes within the Federal Government. There are two changes. The former minister of the government, Marian Calfa, has been appointed by the president of the Republic to be first deputy premier, and Alfred Sebek, former minister responsible for the management of the Federal Office of Prices, has been appointed by the president as minister of labor and social affairs.

And now, with regard to the new members of the government, the president of the Republic has appointed doctor of theology, Josef Hromadka as deputy premier.

Josef Hromadka was born in 1936 in Hodslavice in the district of Novy Jicin. He is a graduate of the Jan Amos Komensky Evangelical Theological Faculty. He also studied at Cambridge University, and has long worked in the Evangelical Church of the Czech Brethren. Until now he has worked as a senior synod in the Czechoslovak Evangelical Church. He is a member of no political party.

As minister of national defense, the president of the Republic has appointed Colonel General Miroslav Vacek. He was born in 1935 in Kolin, and has occupied various command posts in the Czechoslovak People's Army. His latest post was deputy minister of national defense and chief of General Staff of the Czechoslovak People's Army. He is a member of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ].

The president has appointed Frantisek Pinc to the office of federal minister of the interior. He was born in 1944 in Prague. After graduating from university, he first

worked in the CKD [expansion unknown] works in Prague, and then in technical and managerial posts in the power industry. His last post was as manager of the Tusimice power station. He is a member of the CPCZ.

The president of the Republic appointed Kvetoslava Korinkova to the post of minister-chairwoman of the People's Control Commission. Born in 1940 in Cesky Brod, she worked in various organizational and technical posts in the sphere of transportation and technology. Her latest post was consultant to the minister of transport and communication. She is not a member of any political party.

As minister in charge of scientific and technological development and the environment, the president has appointed Dr Frantisek Reichel, Phd. He was born in 1938, in Prague. He was active mainly in the sphere of science and research management. His latest post was deputy manager of the research institute for biofactors and veterinary medicine. He is a member of the Czechoslovak People's Party.

As minister of foreign trade, the president of the Republic has appointed Andrej Barcak. He was born in 1946. After graduating from university, he worked in the motor car industry. For 3 years he was managing director of a joint enterprise in the United States. He worked in foreign trade for the last 16 years. His latest post was general manager of the Motokov foreign trade enterprise. He is a member of the CPCZ.

Minister in charge of the management of the Federal Price Office is Ladislav Dvorak, born in 1943, in Chrudim. He was active mostly in the sphere of price and financial policy in enterprises. He is currently working in the state Transporta Chrudim enterprise. He is a member of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party.

Minister of the government is Viliam Roth, born in 1941, in Poprad. He worked as a journalist, namely in Czechoslovak radio. His latest post was correspondent of Czechoslovak Radio in Bratislava. He is not a member of any political party.

So much for the changes in the present federal government. Allow me to make a few more remarks regarding the composition of the government.

There is a 40 percent change in the number of ministers. There is also a change in their average age; eight members of the government are below the age of 50. We believe this is a condition for better understanding of contemporary processes. Another characteristic feature of the new government is its higher level of professional qualification. As far as the composition of the government is concerned, as opposed to the former 100 percent CPCZ representation, the government includes representatives of other political parties of the National Front—the Czechoslovak Socialist Party, the Czechoslovak People's Party, and three members of the government are not members of any party. The same procedure will be applied at a lower level.

In view of the fact that the government will now be fully responsible, and render accounts for spheres which were in the past managed by other bodies, we do not exclude its expansion by other members, regardless of their political affiliation. This is part of the indispensable process of incorporating broader civic structures into the government. The government wants to respect the principle of not enlarging the central apparatus.

There are now six members of the government who are of Slovak nationality, and after many years, one of the ministries is now headed by a woman. The more detailed curricula of the members of the government are available, and will also be handed over to the Czechoslovak news agency.

I would also like to point out that today, at the first meeting of the Federal Government, the premier spoke of the immediate tasks of the government. In view of the fact that the premier's statement was recorded by Czechoslovak television, I believe that it will shortly be made available to you.

I would also like to inform this news conference that the government discussed a number of very topical issues, and it has issued a statement that I will now read to you.

The government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic [SR] considered the entry into Czechoslovakia of the armies of the five states of the Warsaw Pact in 1968 as an infringement on the norms of relations among sovereign states.

The Federal Government entrusts its chairman, Ladislav Adamec, to inform the Soviet Government about this position. The Federal Government proposes at the same time to the government of the Soviet Union to open negotiations on an intergovernmental agreement concerning the temporary stay of the Soviet troops on CSSR territory. It entrusts the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Jaromir Johanes, to conduct these negotiations. It premises that the question of the departure of the Soviet troops must be settled in conformity with the advance of the European disarmament process.

The government of the Czechoslovak SR is prepared, together with the other countries involved, to create a group of historians who would consider from all angles the entire context of the events of August 1968. It entrusts Marian Calfa, first deputy premier of the government of the Czechoslovak SR, to open talks on the creation of this group.

This statement was approved today by the completed Federal Government. Premier Adamec has read this statement to [as heard] Czechoslovak television. That is all the information on the first session of the government.

[Correspondent Rudolf Erhard] You have just heard from the Office of the Federal Government Presidium, in a direct relay, the main information about the new composition of the Federal Government.

[Jansen] Even though Deputy Prime Minister Urban said that Czechoslovak Television has already transmitted Ladislav Adamec's statement, you are not too late because the government's session ended only half an hour ago. Our news has prepared for you the list of the members of the government and their biographies, which are available for you at the back of this room.

[Unidentified speaker] The Civic Forum expects certain measures from the government by the end of the year. Could you indicate to us what kind of measures you intend to carry out?

[Urban] Talks with the Civic Forum were conducted by Prime Minister Ladislav Adamec and other representatives of political parties. As far as the program of the government is concerned, the immediate tasks were described today by Prime Minister Adamec, and this program takes into account all the demands formulated by the Civic Forum.

[Unidentifed speaker] [words indistinct]

[Urban] The total number of ministers in the new government is twenty. Fifteen are members of the CPCZ, five are members of other political parties or are nonparty members. I have already mentioned in my introduction that the government will not be opposed to enlarging its composition by including other nonparty members or members of other political parties. I would like you to see it as a process.

[Erhard] Western journalists are asking questions from all corners of this room, and we cannot pick up their questions with our microphone. I suppose, however, that you understand well the answers given by Deputy Federal Prime Minister Bohumil Urban, and that therefore you will be able to create for yoursleves a certain impression from this news conference.

[Unidentified Speaker] [Words indistinct] a member of the Civic Forum, or at least a person who is close to this Civic Forum, in the government?

[Urban] I would like to answer this question by saying that this issue was discussed during the talks between Prime Minister Ladislav Adamec and representatives of the Civic Forum. This offer of the Civic Forum participating in the government was not yet utilized. I have even been informed that at this stage of development the Civic Forum did not even request a seat in the government.

[Unidentified speaker in English] Do you think that the changes in the government and the reforms about which you have been talking will be sufficient to calm down tens of thousands, and hundreds of thousands, who were demonstrating for these reforms in Prague and other cities during the past fortnight?

[Urban] All the members of the newly composed government have the sincere intention of implementing all the ideas formulated in today's statement by the Prime Minister, and I would be glad if the government received confidence in that sense. Personally I am convinced that all the members of the government, including those who are members of the Communist Party, will do their utmost to fulfill these demands.

[Unidentified speaker in English] Why did you not take into consideration the proposal or recommendation of the Civic Forum that the Minister of the Interior should not be a member of the Communist Party?

[Urban] The composition of the new government was negotiated with all political parties that now exist in this country, and it was also discussed in the Federal National Front which includes the representatives of all the large mass organizations. The conception of the changes in the government was taken from these negotiations, from these talks. We discussed proposals that we received from these bodies and institutions. This morning the Federal National Front fully accepted the proposal for the composition of the government presented by Prime Minister Ladislav Adamec.

As I have said before, in view of the fact that the government is gradually taking over certain activities whose management was the responsibility of other institutions, it will not be opposed to accepting further members regardless of their political affiliation.

[Erhard] As you can hear for yourselves from a certain pause in the proceedings of the news conference, more complicated and longer questions are being voiced by Western journalists. I suppose our microphone on the platform will give you at least their brief translation, and I repeat that from the answers given by the Federal vice premier we can assume what the question was.

[Urban] As far as the Ministries of Education, of Culture, and others are concerned, these are ministries that are within the competence of the Czech and Slovak Governments, and these governments will be appointed in the coming week. I do admit that all the demands of the Civic Forum could not yet at this stage be respected. But this is what life is like most of the time—you cannot take into account everybody's demands immediately, and these demands are often very different. This will be the last question please.

[Correspondent Havligerova] This, therefore, really should be the last question at today's news conference. Although our foreign colleagues surely have many more questions, it has been shown that they are not familiar enough with what is in the competence of the Federal Government, and what in the national governments, and what is the composition of the National Front.

[Unidentified speaker] [words indistinct]

[Urban] We would be glad if this were not an interim or provisional government. This will to a considerable extent depend on the work and the results of this government. I will say openly that we would like this government, with a view to the wishes or the demands of the people, to be in office until the time of the new

elections. We will try to win this confidence. Of course it is an open question whether we will so succeed.

As for the lower levels of government, this is no longer a matter of the future but of the present. Next week, and this matter we have negotiated with the National Front and the other political parties, proposals will be discussed for appointments at these lower levels of government, National Committees, Ministries, and various sectors. The CPCZ wants no monopoly there either, and it is necessary to select suitable individuals for the posts at these levels. We expect to do this in the next few days. The important thing to our mind was to appoint the ministers so that the work could start. And I thank you once again.

Further Reportage on Strike Committees' Action

Students Explains Continuation

LD0112232689 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 2030 GMT 1 Dec 89

[Text] The students' coordination strike committee published a statement in Prague which explains the reasons for persisting in the strike. It stresses that many officials who were the most compromised have already resigned from high posts, but continue to be involved in political activity. They remain in the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee, Federal Assembly, and state organs. Though the leading role of the party has been abolished, the actual power in the state, party, and its apparatus remains. Some political prisoners were released, but this in itself is not established in law.

The statement by the coordination strike committee goes on to demand an immediate solution to the cases of those citizens who are accused, going through the courts, and are sentenced for the crime of incitement, and in cases of similar abuse of the crime code.

Students also note that though an investigation commission of the Federal Assembly was formed, the opportunity of students to influence its composition was nil. At the same time, they note the demand that in this commission representatives of civic initiatives also be represented.

The statement of the coordination strike committee goes on to stress that students wish to end the strike and return to their studies. nevertheless, this will not be possible unless preconditions and guarantees for the development of real democracy are created throughout Czechoslovakia.

Students To Suspend Strike 4 Dec

LD0312212189 Prague CTK in English 1826 GMT 3 Dec 89

[Text] Prague Dec 3 (CTK)—The National Coordinating Strike Committee of university students issued a statement here today saying that as from December 4, 1989, university students suspend their sit-in strike turning it into intensified strike alert.

The students' demands have become the cause of all society. The program at individual universities is controlled by strike committees of individual faculties in coordination with the University Strike Centre. The statement said calling on all citizens to do everything for real reconstruction of Czechoslovak society. "Unity today creates scope for pluralism tomorrow," the statement stressed.

High School Students Statement

LD0312234389 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1900 GMT 3 Dec 89

[Statement issued by the Coordination Strike Committee of High School Students read in studio by student Michal Sedlacek; date not given—live or recorded]

[Text] Students' demands have only partially been fulfilled. We have the right to assume that our demands have become a matter for the whole society. We do not yet have a guarantee that there will not be a forceful disruption of our path towards freedom and democracy. For example, by the abolition of the Article 4 of the Constitution on the leading role of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia in society, the factual power of the party and its appratus have not been removed. Beginning 4 December 1989, high school students will suspend the situation-in strike and switch to an increased strike alert. The structure and the system of work of strike committees remains; activities at Faculties are directed by individual strike committees in coordination with high school strike centers in Prague and Bratislava.

The program for increasing the level of strike alert enables faculties to continue to remain on strike or to start alternative activities including various forms of education, chosen by students themselves. In no case, however, this will be traditional and regular teaching.

We want to continue to cooperate with workers' strike committees. We suport the Civic Forum and appeal to all teachers to set up academic fora. We ask students, in cooperation with their teachers, to work on the draft of a new bill on high schools.

We ask all citizens to do everything possible for the true defense of our society. The unity of today creates the scope for the plurality of tomorrow.

All students will meet on Monday, 4 December 1989 at 0900 at their faculties, where representatives of strike committees will give them more details about the further development of the strike movement.

[Signed] The statewide Coordination Strike Committee of High School Students.

Statement by Artists Committee

LD0312234789 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1900 GMT 3 Dec 89

[Statement issued by the Coordinating Strike Committee of Artists read in studio by producer Petr Oslzly; date not given—live or recorded]

[text] Esteemed citizens. The strike of actors, musicians, visual artists, individual companies, and groups of professionals and amateurs has not ended. We have merely suspended it and switched to another form of solidarity with students and the Civic Forum.

We are maintaining an increased strike alert because we do not regard the existing fulfilment of students' demands, which have also become the demands of all of us, as sufficient. With this reservation, beginning monday, 4 December 1989, we shall renew the operation of theaters, concert and exhibition halls, and the activity of individual artists. We continue to identify ourselves with the demands of the strike committees of the Czechoslovak Television and the Czechoslovak Radio. Until their demands are met, we will not appear in newly produced programs unless they bear a direct relationship to the present political situation.

The strike committees, along with the management of theaters and other cultural organizations, will assume in the coming period the responsibility for their management.

We have been deceived and let down by internal interventions and must not be inconsistant. Our endeavour will not end unless we all have the certainty that our country's course towards democracy is irreversible. In case of necessity, we are prepared to join in a general strike.

Disapprove of New Government

LD0312224489 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 2200 GMT 3 Dec 89

[Text] The association of strike committees of industrial enterprises and other institutions has voiced its disapproval of the new federal government and the given structure of power. It has declared an increased strike alert for all strike committees, which means to get workplaces ready for a general strike within 12 hours from its announcement, and to strengthen the position of strike committees in such a way that they can hold direct talks with enterprise management on banning activities by all political parties at workplaces. The association proposes to the center of Slovak strike committees to hold talks on the coordination of mutual activity, and supports an appeal for local demonstrations at 1600 on 4 December.

Students Declare Strike To Continue

LD0412091889 Prague CTK in English 0900 GMT 4 Dec 89

[Text] Prague Nov 4 (CTK) —"Yesterday's statement of the university students' strike committee broadcast on Czechoslovak television is not relevant and valid any more. Referring to the situation following the declaration of a new government, we voice resolute protest against its set-up which is an expression of misunderstanding of the gravity of the situation. We consider other immediate considerable changes necessary", a statement of the students' strike committee issued today said.

"The reason for making this decision was the actual ignorance of the abolition of the article no.4 in the Czechoslovak Constitution, which ensures again the Czechoslovak Communist Party its leading role in the state's management and does not correspond with the actual division of political forces in society, and that is why we continue to strike, the statement said.

Civic Forum on New Government, Student Strikes

LD0112211289 Prague CTK in English 2026 GMT 1 Dec 89

[Text] Prague Dec 1 (CTK)—The student strike has been launched in support of seven demands whose fulfilment is considered the first step towards a change of the repressive totalitarian system into a free and democratic system, said a student statement delivered at the regular press conference of the Civic Forum representatives here today.

A number of persons have resigned but they continue to carry out political activities. They are still members of the Communist Party Central Committee, of the Federal Assembly and of state bodies. The leading role of the party has been abolished but the actual power in the state remains in the hands of the party and its apparatus. Some political prisoners have been released but there is no legal provision in Czechoslovakia for the term political prisoner itself. "We continue to insist on the immediate solution of the cases of citizens accused, tried and sentenced for a criminal offence of incitement and for similarly misused provisions of the penal code. The submitting of laws on the freedom of assembly, association, the right to petition, the press and other laws for public discussion, including a new draft constitution, have only been promised", the student statement said.

The commission of the Federal Assembly for the investigation of the events has been established, but the students had in fact no opportunity to influence its set-up. The commisson includes nine deputies, two students appointed by the bodies of the Socialist Union of Youth and only two independent students. There is nobody from the civic initiatives in the commission.

The transition to real democracy is not irreversible yet. Supporters of the old regime have launched counter-attacks in many areas outside prague. "We want to end the strike...but it will not be possible as long as conditions on the whole territory of Czechoslovakia are created and guarantees given for the development of real democracy", the students stressed.

Jiri Dienstbier said that the Civic Forum plans no demonstration for this weekend. Only the students are going to organize a meeting in front of the Chinese Embassy to commemorate the events in the centre of Beijing.

Holds News Conference

LD0212034989

[Editorial Report] Prague Television Service in Czech at 1720 GMT on 1 December broadcasts a 40-minute live news conference given by the Civic Forum in Prague. Participating in the news conference are the station's presenter, who is not identified, Civic Forum representatives Professor Zdenek Jicinsky, Vaclav Klaus, and Petr Miller. The presenter notes that these Civic Forum members are members of the delegation that had talks with Federal Premier Adamec. Also representing the Civic Forum are Simon Panek, of the national university of Students' Strike Committee, and Jiri Kanturek, Civic Forum's television spokesman. Questions are asked of the Civic Forum members by representatives of various Czechoslovak newspapers and by Prague Television viewers, who phone in their questions.

In response to a question on the nature of the Civic Forum, Jicinsky says, "The Civic Forum is a spontaneous movement of citizens who are linked by the wish to seek positive solutions to today's crisis. No one who rejects the further existence of a political system of a single ruling party and who feels that the policy principles of the Civic Forum are addressed to him is excluded from the movement. We see our basic aim as the definitive broadening of scope for the emergence of political pluralism and for pursuing the aim of free elections in our country. The Civic Forum feels itself to be a political force that is the guarantor of ensuring free elections in Czechoslovakia."

Asked about the structure of the Civic Forum, an unidentified speaker says its structure is very simple: It has two levels—a coordinating center and Civic Forum centers. He notes they are beginning to set up technical and specialist commissions.

A representative from LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE asks whether there are any specific plans in hand for Civic Forum to issue its own newspapers. Kanturek says moves are under way to try to establish independent dailies, but, for the time being, the idea is that LIDOVE NOVINY should take on that role.

In response to further questions, a Civic Forum member says the movement is based for the time being in the Spalova Gallery on Nardoni Trida 30, Prague-1, where details are available on how to set up Civic Forum groups and centers. As of now, there are 890 organized groups throughout the country, and the number is growing by the hour. Details of Civic Forum bank accounts are given for those who wish to contribute.

A PRACE representative asks about Civic Forum's cooperation with trade unions. The reply is that Civic Forum's cooperation with trade union factory branches is being established, but no formal relationship has yet been worked out. A RUDE PRAVO representative asks whether Civic Forum fears its program will be diluted by local interests; a Civic Forum member replies that it is too early to say, but that the group thinks the movement will strengthen. In response to a question by MLADA FRONTA about prospects for cooperation with the students' movement, Civic Forum's student representative says he thinks the strike committees will grow into organizations that will defend students' and citizens' interests, free of any political influence.

A SVOBODNE SLOVO representative remarks that in the general strike, local functionaries were quick to jump on the Civic Forum bandwagon. The group believes that this tends to happen at times of great change, but the important thing is that people have realized their civic responsibilities, have stopped being afraid, and will not allow compromised officials to brandish the flag of freedom. A member says Civic Forum must be the force in society that forces people who have compromised themselves in public office to resign. He notes that several deputies in the current Federal Assembly should no longer be there.

Asked by Prague television about the Forum's relations with the Czechoslovak Communist Party, a member says it is not closed to anyone, including party members, if they agree with the forum's policy principles. The Prague television representative adds that some officials of the party Central Committee recently stated that they wanted to propose many of the points contained in the Forum's policy at the December session of the Central Committee. A forum representative says Jakes had 20 years to put forward those principles, but did not take the opportunity.

A representative from LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE asks if the Civic Forum has any initiative to assist exiles to return to Czechoslovakia. A Forum representative says this was discussed in outline with Adamec but the details have not been finalized, noting that nonetheless several such exiles have already returned to visit.

Asked whether they know how many members they have, the representatives say they have no precise figures. Asked about its view of the new economic principles to apply beginning 1 January, a member refers to the initial widely publicized statement, which says that the existing economic system cannot be rescued by partial adjustments and which endorses the idea of a market economy, while recognizing the "essential, important

role of the state in the future economic mechanism, both in the short and long term." When the new government is formed, its overriding aim must be to prevent economic chaos and inflation, says the Forum representative.

Asked how it sees private ownership of factories, banks and enterprises, a Forum member says the group has deliberately not used the term private ownership in its statements, but a sound economy can only be created "on the basis of the concurrent, parallel existence of various types of ownership with equal rights." However, it is too soon to expect a movement which has only been up and running for 14 days to formulate a precise economic policy concept in present conditions.

On the Federal Assembly, a Civic Forum representative expresses the idea that deputies who are discredited should resign, but says that how their places should be filled is another question, because preparations for free elections will be a long process, requiring the necessary legislative guarantees to be put in place.

A viewer wants to know about Vaclav Havel's role in the Civic Forum; he is then described as a coordinator, but not a "leader" or "dictator." All the forum's activities are the result of consultations among a whole series of people; it does not have a single leader, but uses a collective method of leadership.

The Slovak public against violence movement is described as a sister movement "whose goals and methods of work are completely identical to our activity". It is not a rival organization, and the Forum supports it.

A Civic Forum representative says the group does not yet have its own premises in Prague; talks are under way with the mayor, but nothing is final. The panel concludes by thanking everyone who has financially supported the forum and explains some minor financial details.

Calls for 4 Dec Demonstration

AU0312153789 Paris AFP in English 1521 GMT 3 Dec 89

[Text] Prague, Dec 3 (AFP)—The principal opposition in Czechoslovakia, Civic Forum, called its supporters to join a demonstration in Prague Monday [4 December], shortly after Prime Minister Ladislav Adamec was sworn in as the head of a new government Sunday.

Last Monday Civic Forum rejected concessions made by the country's communist leadership by bringing the country to a standstill with a token two-hour strike.

Civic Forum leaders called for a new demonstration at a press conference here shortly after Mr Adamec's new government was sworn in. They refrained from commenting on the composition of the new team, which includes five non-communists in non-sensitive posts.

Issues Declaration

LD0312235389 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1900 GMT 3 Dec 89

[Declaration issued by the Coordinating Center of the Civic Forum and the Coordinating Committee of Public Against Violence read in studio in Slovak by writer Martin Simecka; date not given—live or recorded]

[Text] Today, Sunday, 3 December, the great social movement of which all are the participants, has reached an important point. We are facing the task of assessing what has happened and deciding what is to happen next.

Many important things have happened. The Communist Party has been righly deprived, on the basis of the publicly expressed will of all of us, of its leading role. A parliamentary commission has begun work with student participation. Freedom of expression has expanded significantly.

Despite this, impatience is growing in our society. The feeling is growing in strength that words are not being translated into action in a speed required by the time. We know that everything cannot be achieved immediately. However, why has the formal abolition of the party's leading role not been rejected in the composition of the federal government? Why have 15 out of 20 government posts belong to Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] members? Why are other National Front parties represented each by only one seat? Why is there only one woman in the government? After all, there are a disporportionately larger numbers of nonparty members than there are party members, and among the CPCZ members there are, after all, many more talented people than those who are in the government.

In the fifties, the leading role of the CPCZ was not enshrined in the Constitution and we all know what happened. It arises clearly from this that a declaration, and even Constitutional changes, do not on their own guarantee anything.

The Coordinating Center of the Civic Forum and the Coordinating Committee of Public Against Violence are of the view that more will have to happen by next Sunday. We do not regard the changes in the federal government as having been completed, and for this reason we cannot as yet give our support to the new government. We expect that by next Sunday a thorough change will be completed, and that its personnel composition will correspond to the general interests and demands. We want young, honest people who have not been compromised and who are professionally competent to hold the majority of posts in the government.

We also anxiously await the policy statement. We expect that the government will address itself in it unambiguously to the tasks facing it, such as the guarantee of the total freedom of expression, the guarantee in the law of the right of assembly and association, the abolition of the People's Militias and party organizations at workplaces. The nomenclature must be abolished at all levels and in

all sectors. The government should immediately prepare a governmental draft bill, according to which the entire existing system of state administration would be rebuilt. In the present system, even the most educated and brightest ministers cannot assert themselves properly. Unless all this happens, we fear that the leading role of the party has been abolished only on paper.

The Coordinating Center of the Civic Forum calls on Czech Prime Minister Frantisek Pitra to form a new Czech government by the end of the week. He knows what kind of people the public wants and the Civic Forum is capable of recommending to him various persons. Five ministers of the national government, who have been compromised the most, cannot be in the new government. Pitra knows why people do not trust them.

Civic Forum and Public Against Violence have requested that Mr President release all political prisoners and give up his post by next Sunday, Human Rights Day. We believe firmly that he will understand the urgency of such steps.

We call on all citizens in towns and in the countryside to express their aspirations for genuine changes, and guarantees that these will be enduring by an increased strike alert. Strengthen speedily the structure and mutual links between strike committees, Civic Forums, Action Committees of Public Against Violence and other independent initiatives. Students and the cultural community have suspended their strike and switched to an increased strike alert, which purpose they themselves have explained. If the powers that be fail to understand the call of this moment we shall call another demonstrative general strike for Monday 11 December.

None of us longs for strikes, but this is regrettably as yet the only way in which citizens are able to demonstrate what they want—and that they shall never allow themselves to be deceived by mere cosmetic changes.

A delegation of the Coordinating Center of the Civic Forum and the Coordinating Committee of Public Against Violence conducted intensive talks with the prime ministers of all these governments and with other political figures. During them they conveyed what people had up to now called for during demonstrations, signed in in numerous resolutions and inscribed on their banners. We can publish authentic records from these talks if the public think that we negotiated about them and without them, and that we agreed to the existing behind-the-door forms of politics. These records would show clearly that we only sought concrete ways of translating the general will into reality.

Civic Forums and Action Committees of Public Against Violence are being set up throughout the country. Their support is growing and they have an increasingly greater influence. This influence binds us also in our talks with the governments.

We want social changes to take place peacefully. We know that the present governments are temporary and that they will have only a restricted mandate. Our aim is free elections by July 1990 at the latest. We want the course toward them to be a peaceful one. It must however be a course forward and not one which merely marks time.

The Coordinating Center of the Civic Forum and the Coordinating Committee of Public Against Violence can say with responsibility that the popular movement of November, inspired by students, is today, in its ideals and action capability, more united than during the preceding days. Let this unity be a bridge along which we shall travel toward genuine plurality and democracy.

This declaration will be read out by a representative of the Civic Forum at 1600 tomorrow on Wenceslas Square, to enable the people of Prague to support it by their presence.

Calls for General Strike 11 Dec

AU0312220089 Paris AFP in English
2118 GMT 3 Dec 89

[Text] Prague, Dec 3 (AFP)—The Czechoslovak opposition front Civic Forum said Sunday it would call a new general strike if there were not further purges of hardliners from the government led by Communist Prime Minister Ladislav Adamec.

In a televised statement, representatives of the opposition called in particular for the removal of Communist Party hardliners Foreign Minister Jaromir Johanes and Energy Minister Antonin Krumniki.

Failing to remove these and other party conservatives from the new government named earlier Sunday by Mr Adamec, Civic Forum would call a general strike for December 11, they said.

About six million workers staged a two-hour nationwide strike last Monday in response to the opposition's call for democracy.

The opposition representatives said the choices of General Miroslav Vacek and Frantisek Pinc, both party members chosen respectively as defense and interior ministers, did not correspond to the opposition's expectations.

Civic Forum also protested that 15 of the 20 ministers in the new government were Communist Party members, after legislators voted only last Wednesday to abolish constitutional references to the party's leading political role.

"This party has lost the confidence of the population ... We cannot place our trust in this government," said Peter Miller, a representative of the worker's movement within Civic Forum.

Civic Forum demanded free elections before July next year and stressed that in its view the newly-named government was only transitional.

The group also called for another mass rally like those of recent days to be held Monday in Prague's Wenceslas Square.

"In the government created today there are not enough non-party members, experts and technicians as promised and the new ministers in charge of economic questions are not competent enough," said Peter Pithart, speaking for Civic Forum.

The new government "cannot be definitive", he added.

Although Civic Forum has supported the idea of a government composed largely of non-party-affiliated figures, the opposition front refused to join Mr. Adamec's new administration on the grounds that it is only a transition until free elections can be held.

Students and artists who began a strike November 20 said they were still on a "state of alert" and a banner hanging above a theater in Prague where student strike committees have met in recent weeks declared: "The student's strike does not end Sunday."

Student groups around the country are meeting Monday to decide on their next step.

Civic Forum also renewed its call for the resignation of President Gustav Husak before December 10, the freeing of all political prisoners, the dissolving of party militias—which were disarmed Saturday—and the banning of Communist Party cells in the workplace.

Mr Husak hinted earlier Sunday that he was preparing to resign but did not say when. In a statement issued by the official CTK news agency, Mr Husak, 76, said he had "no ambition" to remain in the post and would not do so "at any price."

In the only welcoming note of its reaction, Civic Forum said it "appreciated" a proposal from Mr Adamec to set up a group of historians from countries concerned in the Warsaw Pact force's 1968 military crushing of the "Prague Spring" in order to reevaluate events of the time.

'Public Against Violence' Rally in Bratislava

AU0112200189

[Editorial Report] Bratislava Television Service in Slovak at 1415 GMT on 1 December begins carrying a live, unscheduled relay of a rally in Slovak National Uprising (SNP) Square in Bratislava. The rally is reported as being organized by the "Public Against Violence Movement."

The square is filled to capacity with people, who are in a festive mood and are carrying Czechoslovak flags and banners. The rally's moderator is Milan Knazko, who reports that among those present are Helmut Zilk, mayor of Vienna; Erhard Busek, Austrian minister of science and research; Freda Meissner-Blau, of the Austrian Green Party; and the nephew of Jan Carnogursky, the Slovak dissident.

The Austrian visitors make speeches to the crowd, expressing their solidarity with the Czechoslovak people and welcoming the dismantling of the iron curtain between the two countries. These speeches are received with a tumultuous welcome by the crowd, which begins chanting "Long Live Vienna" and "Long Live Freedom."

A variety of cultural representatives, including actors, writers, and singers, appear on the podium, making statements and expressing personal points of view about the last 2 weeks. A blind representative reads out a statement in braille. Ivan Hoffmann and Jan Burian sing some of their songs, with the participation of the crowd. Relatives of two people who died in 1968 during the Warsaw Pact invasion appear on the podium with the moderator, Knazko.

Others appearing on the podium include a Slovak ice hockey player who has lived in exile for 9 years, other representatives of Slovaks living abroad, and representatives of the Jewish community in Slovakia.

The rally continues with statements read from the podium on behalf of organizations, including Czechoslovak People's Army units, and individuals.

In conclusion, the organizers thank the police and local party organs for giving them permission to hold a peaceful demonstration. It is announced that another rally will take place in SNP Square on 9 December at 1600. The rally comes to an end at 1715 GMT with the singing of the National Anthem. At this point, the camera pans the crowd and many people are shown with their hands raised in the V for Victory sign.

Mohorita News Conference on Party Action Program

LD0112191989 Prague CTK in English
1815 GMT 1 Dec 89

[Text] Prague Dec 1 (CTK)—"A draft action program of the Czechoslovak Communist Party returns to the past considering the entry of troops of five Warsaw Treaty states as unjustified and incorrect. The draft was discussed by the Czechoslovak Communist Presidium this morning", Vasil Mohorita, Presidium member and secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee told Czechoslovak and foreign journalists here today.

He said that the district party conferences will be held on December 9, regional on December 16. The Central Committee will hold its session on December 14. It should react to the demands of the party members who call for the convocation of an extraordinary party congress before January 26.

"The Czechoslovak Communist Party is one of the political parties and has to strive for its position in society as well as others have", Vasil Mohorita said. The Communist Party will no further control the People's Militia, will not interfere in the management of mass media of information and will influence the public opinion only through activities of its members in work teams, Mohorita pointed out.

The draft program deals with the two years which have passed since the 7th session of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee. It stated that the party supported the restructuring and democratization only in words, and practically no changes have been carried out. Referring to the entry of troops of five socialist states in Czechoslovakia in 1968, Vasil Mohorita said that the causes and connections which led to it should be re-evaluated from a historical point of view. Also the lesson drawn from the crisis development should be discussed again. The final decision concerning these questions should be made at the 18th party congress in May 1990.

Vasil Mohorita also pointed to the necessity of changing the draft of new party regulations.

The new party leadership backs pluralism within the framework of the National Front, the creation of and control over state policy through the parliament, the two national councils and national committees, he underlined.

The draft action program deals with social and political interests of workers and youth and supports the fundamental economic changes in national economy introduced by the federal government.

Answering the question concerning the reasons why, in his opinion, the Czechoslovak Communist Party has lost its leading role, Vasil Mohorita said it was because the party put it down in the Constitution.

"What kind of demands the Communist Party has put forward to Premier Adamec concerning the new set-up of the government?"

"We have not decided about any demands", Vasil Mohorita said.

Another question concerned the number of the People's Militia members and their future existence. Vasil Mohorita said he does not know the exact number, adding that the party wants them to be controlled by the state bodies as it is usual in other countries.

Dealing with the forthcoming December 14 session of the party Central Committee, Vasil Mohorita said the Committee will meet in the same composition as the last time.

What was the new Presidium's opinion on Alexander Dubcek, Milos Jakes and Gustav Husak? "We shall have to return to this question later on", Mohorita said.

"Does the party leadership consider the abolition of primary organizations at workplaces?"

"We will discuss this problem with other political parties", he said.

In the other part of the conference representatives of the Democratic Forum of Communists, a movement associating some 30,000 party and non-party members, a spokesman characterized the program of the new initiative saying that its members have formulated fundamental and radical demands leading to democracy in the Communist Party. They rejected democratic centralism. They stressed the fact that the abolition of the no.4 article in the Czechoslovak Constitution about the leading role of the party must be necessarily reflected in the activities of the Ministries of National Defence and the Interior.

Answering the question of what were the impulses leading to the establishment of the Democratic Forum of Communists, its representatives said that one of the reasons was the stand the former Communist Party leaders took on the spontaneous rally on the 70th anniversary of the foundation of Czechoslovakia in the centre of the capital last October, when security forces also interefered, and its attitude towards the events in Wenceslas Square in January, when security forces interfered several times.

The representatives of the Democratic Forum described the establishment of their own press organ as one of their main tasks in the present.

Radio on News Conference

LD0112201289 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 1 Dec 89

[Excerpt] As we have already reported, the Presidium of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] Central Committee met in Prague today. The result of the talks is a draft action program of the Communist Party up to the 18th congress under the title of For Democratic Socialist Society in the Czecoslovak Socialist Republic. The essence of the draft was explained to journalists at the afternoon meeting by Vasil Mohorita, Presidium member and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee. He said, among other things:

[Begin Mohorita recording] We are for political pluralism which must find expression in the new understanding of the National Front. We support the setting up of the state policy in representative corps, the Federal Assembly, the Czech and Slovak National Councils and National Committees. We want to actively and equally take part in free and democratic elections. In the draft action program we also formulate some of our attitudes in the sphere of the state's social policy, safequarding the rights of the working people, women, young people. We are talking about our share in the managment of the economy; we are supporting the fundamental economic changes which were and have been proposed by the

federal government, thus expressing our views on many issues concerning the life of society. I should like to draw attention to the fact that this is a draft action program which will be assessed by the party's Central Committee and its final form must be approved by the extraordinary congress of the CPCZ. It should thus be a guideline for party organizations up the regular 18th party congress which will be held in May 1990. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Further on 17 Nov Events, Investigation

Jakes Rejects Responsibility

LD0112224689 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 2130 GMT 1 Dec 89

[Text] Giving testimony before the parliamentary commission set up to investigate the intervention by the security forces on 17 November in Prague today were Milos Jakes, Miroslav Stepan, Alois Lorenc, Federal First Deputy Minister of the Interior, Jaroslav Prokopec, and Vasil Mohorita.

Deputy Lubomir Fanta, a representative of the commission, told CTK journalists that today's proceedings have brought about a fundamental qualitative shift, because the commission has obtained specific information from specific people, above all from the investigators from the Czech Prosecutor General's Department and the Military Prosecutor's Department.

The Civic Forum representatives said the essential thing is that the parliamentary commission was able to scrutinize and monitor the work of the Prosecutor's Department.

Milos Jakes told newsmen that he does not feel responsible for the intervention on 17 November, adding that the central political bodies rejected intervention even before the event.

More on Protest Hearings

LD0212000989 Prague CTK in English 2248 GMT 1 Dec 89

[Text] Prague Dec 1 (CTK)—Former Czechoslovak Communist Party General Secretary Milos Jakes, former leading secretary of the Prague city party committee Miroslav Stepan, Czechoslovak First Deputy Minister of the Interior Alojz Lorenc, Czech Minister of Health and Social Affairs Jaroslav Prokopec and Vasil Mohorita bore testimony in the parliamentary commission here today.

The commission has been set up to investigate the action of security forces against students participating in a peaceful demonstration in Prague on November 17, 1989.

Spokesman for the commission Lubomir Fanta told CTK that fundamental qualitative change has been achieved in the investigation today because the commission had been given concrete information from concrete persons mainly from investigators of the Czech general prosecution and the military prosecution.

Asked by journalists whether he feels political responsibility for what happened on November 17 Milos Jakes responded no and added that the central political bodies had rejected the interference already before November 17. Also Moroslav Stepan was interviewed by journalists shortly before his testimony in the parliamentary commission. He said he is ready to bear testimony on everything he knows. But after giving evidence he refused to make any comments on it.

Vasil Mohorita told journalists tonight that he participated in the investigation because on November 17 he was chairman of the Socialist Union of Youth Central Committee whose Presidium adopted a stance on Monday condemning Friday's action of security forces. Monday's stands of the governments and of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Presidium differ from that taken by the Socialist Union of Youth, he added.

The commission worked for 13 hours today and will continue the investigation tomorrow.

Investigation Chairman Interviewed

LD0212235389 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2030 GMT 2 Dec 89

[Text] Now we report further details of the deliberations of the joint commission of deputies of the Chamber of People and Chamber of Nations of the Federal Assembly, which was established to control the investigation of the events of 17 November 1989 in Prague. Vaclav Klement invited to the microphone Deputy Jozef Stank, chairman of this commission.

[Begin recording] [Klement] According to the original plan you were supposed to close the deliberations today at 1500 for the time being, and the editorial commission was to meet tomorrow and formulate a report. However, in the end you agreed that you would continue your deliberations.

[Stank, in Slovak] The truth is that there is no way we could conclude the commission's work by today, or Monday, because the whole investigation has not yet finished, above all in the organs of the chief military prosecutor.

We reached an agreement at the commission at the beginning that we would report on our conclusions in a form of a summing up, or if need be, partial information that we would not provide to the public because we would be speaking about who said what, about views of individuals, both from among the commission's members and summoned guestss. And I think this would not contribute to anything. We should gather, assess, analyze this information, and only after that publish at least some partial information.

Tomorrow we want to asess these past 3 days within a smaller group, the editorial council of this commission, and we would like to put forward the first result, following its discussion at the commission, that is, on Monday, to the chairmen of the two chambers of the Federal Assembly. We will strive to have it drafted in such a way that the public receives as quickly as possible the information about what was discussed at these sessions.

[Klement] Nevertheless, I ask you if these long hours of deliberations brought any new facts, knowledge?

[Stank] The deliberations surely brought to each of us many new facts, I think namely because we heard people who were, or are in charge of political life in this state, we heard those people who were directly in charge of the intervention on the Narodni Trida [avenue in central Prague], people who work in the organs of the Ministry of Interior, etc. This means we attempted to understand this issue in a wide context. We think this commission was established to react also to the current political moves regarding this one event, this unpleasant event. The information we received from those summoned, and of course from the general prosecutor of the CSSR, as well as the general prosecutor of the Czech Socialist Republic and chief military prosecutor, have certainly very substantially widened our knowledge of this whole affair. [end recording]

29 Nov Party Press on Political Situation

AU0212171489

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 29 November carries the following items related to the current domestic political developments:

On pages 1 and 2, under the headline "We Will Fight for the Ideals of Socialism," it carries a 60-word report on the opening of a nationwide party aktiv in Prague the preceding day and Karel Urbanek's 2,600-word speech at the aktiv.

On page 1, it carries a 500-word Igor Sirota report on the 28 November talks between a CSSR Government and CSSR National Front delegation and a delegation of the Civic Forum and the subsequent news conference; a 100-word report on an extraordinary meeting of the Federal Government; the 100-word "text" of Mikhail Gorbachev's telegram of congratulations to Karel Urbanek; a 100-word report on Karel Urbanek's meeting with Josef Bartoncik, the newly elected chairman of the Czechoslovak People's Party; a 450-word interview with Josef Bartoncik on the party's program; a 600-word report on a news conference with Josef Hora, newly appointed spokesman for the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee Presidium; and 50-word reports on Milos Jakes' resignation from the post of chairman of State Defense Council and Alois Indra's resignation from the post of chairman of CSSR Federal Assembly.

Also on page 1, RUDE PRAVO carries a 200-word "dam"-signed report on the founding of the "Democratic Forum of Communists." The RUDE PRAVO report mentions that the forum's declaration of intent "demands the abolition of the People's Militia because 'in a democratic society, no political party must avail itself of an armed detachment'." About 200 people are said to have attended the forum's constituent session. Also on page 1, RUDE PRAVO carries a 300-word report on a meeting between Czechoslovak and West German peace groups to be held in Marianske Lazne from 1 to 3 November. The report mentions that in addition to representatives of the Czechoslovak Peace Council and other official groups, the Czechoslovak delegation will include "representatives of the 'Obroda' [Revival] club [of reform Communists], of the Brno branch of Civic Forum, and of the Independent Peace Association."

On pages 1, 2, 3, and 4, RUDE PRAVO publishes a series of statements, letters, resolutions, and interviews with workers (totaling about 5,000 words) reacting to changes in Czechoslovak political life. Many of them demand the convening of an extraordinary congress before the scheduled January 1990 date, the election of congress delegates directly in primary party organizations, the election of a new CPCZ Central Committee, and the immediate adoption of a party program of action. All these demands are contained, for example, in a statement issued by the CPCZ primary organization in the RUDE PRAVO editorial office. RUDE PRAVO mentions that 66 members of its editorial staff voted for this statement, while 22 voted against it and 9 abstained. While most statements published by RUDE PRAVO call for social dialogue, many of them are critical of speeches made by Civic Forum representatives during the recent demonstrations in Prague and accuse Civic Forum of undemocratic practices. Several statements also criticize the decisions of the 24 November extraordinary party plenum. Literary critic Jiri Hajek, for example, says that this session "only exacerbated social tension in our country" because it failed to meet rank-and-file party members' "expectation that it would reject once and for all the disastrous policy of the former leadership and create a new Presidium capable of gaining the confidence not only of us, Communists, but of society at large." Hajek also says that it is "because of the political blindness and helplessness of the former party leadership that the Civic Forum is now able to arrogate to itself the results of the enormous political activity of students and youth and act as the sole spokesman for the nation." He appeals to Communists not to "give up their political identity" by "melting away within the structures of the Civic Forum," but to remain an independent political force, even though it will now have to start "from scratch." A different opinion is expressed by Ivan Wiszczor, chairman of the Federal Office of Inventions. Writing on the relationship between Communists and the Civic Forum, Wiszczor says that, in his opinion, Communists should join the Civic Forum and "work there actively for a better socialism so that people need

not pursue their justified demands in the streets": "Communists must react to the mood of the masses. If people want to discuss the programmatic aims of the Civic Forum, then we cannot approach them as opponents, as idle critics, but as cocreators who really want and can cooperate," Wiszczor says. This is all the easier, according to the author, as there exist "points of contact" between the programmatic aims of the Civic Forum and the aims of economic and political restructuring as formulated by the party. Wiszczor therefore describes as "absolutely correct" the offer of Valtr Komarek, director of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences Forecasting Institute, to place the results of his institute's work at the disposal of the Civic Forum and urges Communists to act likewise.

On page 2, RUDE PRAVO carries a 500-word communique on a session of the Czech Socialist Republic Government; a 400-word report on a Civic Forum news conference and the organization's political demands; a 700-word report on the conclusions of the 26-27 November extraordinary session of the Communist Party of Slovakia Central Committee; a 400-word report on a session of the Socialist Youth Union Central Committee Presidium; a 600-word report on emergency sessions of the East Bohemia and South Moravia CPCZ Regional Committees; and a 600-word Vaclav Pergl report on the discussion at the nationwide party aktiv held in Prague on 28 November. According to Pergl, besides expressing support for the new Urbanek- led CPCZ leadership, speakers in the discussion demanded that the date of the extraordinary party congress be brought forward to December or early January, that delegates be elected directly in primary party organizations, that an analysis of the causes of the present "domestic political crisis" and a party program of action be drawn up, and that "all unwarranted prerogatives of leading representatives be abolished."

On page 2, RUDE PRAVO also carries a 50-word announcement that Josef Riman, chairman of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, "has initiated steps to restore membership in the academy to all former Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences members who had lost it for political reasons," and a 200-word report on the resignation of the entire leadership of the Czech Union of Composers and Concert Artists "on the basis of Civic Forum demands" and as "an expression of the termination of a period that was marked social, moral, and cultural deformations." A new leadership is to be elected "democratically" at an extraordinary congress of the union at the beginning of 1990. Also on page 2, RUDE PRAVO carries a 300-word Jan Lipavsky commentary entitled "Voluntarily." The commentary asserts that the party's only chance of regaining people's confidence and making them support the party "voluntarily and with conviction" is "to renew itself, extricate itself from bureaucratism, cast off expressions of sectarianism, and drive out from its ranks careerists, fellow travelers, and fearful and calculating persons."

Another item featured on page 2 is a 400-word CTK report on the continuation of the university strike. A spokesman for the students' nationwide coordinating strike committee is said to have told the CTK correspondent that the students' further course of action depends on the outcome of the Federal Assembly session of 29 November, that is, on whether their political demands will be met. Student leader Martin Mejstrik also answers the CTK correspondent's question about the students' attitude to the Civic Forum. He says: "We disagree with the view that the Civic Forum has devoured us. We perceive it merely as the umbrella organization of all opposition forces, which is also why we support it. We agree with its programmatic statement. We lay claim to our own demands, however—student demands, which we will enforce."

Also on page 2, under the headline "Social Dialogue," RUDE PRAVO carries a 600-word roundup of correspondents' reports on meetings between official organizations and opposition representatives held at the local level. RUDE PRAVO's Olomouc correspondent reports that Olomouc city authorities have agreed to make available to the Civic Forum premises, airtime on the local radio station, as well as space in the district paper STRAZ (WATCHMAN). The paper's West Bohemia correspondent reports that local authorities in Klatovy, Sokolov, Plzen, and Tachov have already established contact with Civic Forum representatives and negotiate on "the forms and methods of social dialogue." A report on similar talks in Ostrava mentions that the Ostrava Civic Forum branch has been allocated a meeting hall on the "Black Meadow" exhibition ground.

Other reports included in this roundup are the decision of the National Front Prague City Presidium to "open" the National Front to civic initiatives, a report on cooperation between local authorities and the Civic Forum in Usti nad Labem, and a report on health minister Prokopec's meeting with Civic Forum people).

On page 3, under the "Our Documentation" rubric, RUDE PRAVO publishes the 1,600-word "Programmatic Principles of the Civic Forum." On the same page, it carries the 400-word "eight commandments" on how to conduct a dialogue, taken from a leaflet said to be posted in the streets of Prague these days, and a 400-word Vladimir Plzak report on a meeting between striking students and city authorities in Plzen. The meeting reportedly produced an agreement that, once the strike is over, the students will remove all posters and leaflets from public buildings in the city. In return, they are to be provided with a "large, centrally located posting wall," which the students will be able to use and where they will be able to meet for discussions. Representatives of the Plzen police, who also met the Plzen students, reportedly "rejected the view that Public Security Corps members are buying up some central newspapers, especially SVOBODNE SLOVO and LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE," and denied that they are tearing down posters and leaflets, "even though some of them attack them in a vulgar way."

On page 4, RUDE PRAVO carries a 500-word CTK report on the 27 November meeting of the Presidium of the Committee of the Czechoslovak Public for Human Rights and Humanitarian Cooperation and the proposals for legislative changes which emerged from the meeting. The RUDE PRAVO report mentions that the Presidium "recommended" to the CSSR Federal Assembly and the Czech and Slovak National Councils that they revoke their "legal measures of 17 November 1989 on securing public order."

On page 7, RUDE PRAVO carries a 1,900-word roundup of correspondents' reports on foreign media coverage of the situation in Czechoslovakia, most of which concern foreign reaction to the general strike of 27 November and the establishment of official contacts with the Civic Forum. The roundup includes a 150-word report on S. Vtorushin's Moscow PRAVDA article of 28 November, a 250-word report on comments on Czechoslovakia made by Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze in an interview with the Italian paper L'UNITA, and a 250-word report on a statement on the latest developments in Czechoslovakia made by an unspecified "spokesman for the U.S. State Department" on 27 November. On page 7, RUDE PRAVO also carries a 50-word AFP-based report on economist Ota Sik's readiness to return to Czechoslovakia after 20 years in exile, provided that he is "fully rehabilitated," and a 50-word report on a proposal made by the parliamentarians of the GDR Christian Democratic Party that the GDR People's Assembly "apologize" to the people of Czechoslovakia for the GDR troops' participation in the Warsaw Pact invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968.

On page 8, RUDE PRAVO carries a 400-word Zdenek Hoffmann interview with several members of the strike committee at the Prague Economics College (in which they protest, among other things, against claims that they are "manipulated" by the Civic Forum); a 150-word report on Foreign Minister Johanes' meeting with U.S. Ambassador Temple-Black; a 60-word report on the recommendation by the Slovak minister of health and social affairs that the nomenklatura's State Institute of National Health in Bratislava be made available to the general public; a 100-word report on the decision of the Supraphon record company to release some previously banned records, including songs by (Charter 77 signatory) Marta Kubisova and (emigres) Jaroslav Hutka and Waldemar Matuska; and a 250-word report on a statement issued by the Committee of the Czech Writers' Association, announcing, inter alia, the calling of an extraordinary congress for the 1st ½ of December. The statement also calls for the integration of all currents of Czech literature, regardless of the authors' political and literary beliefs.

Also on page 8, RUDE PRAVO carries a 200-word statement issued by the leadership of the Czechoslovak Club of Olympic Athletes, which denounces the previous discrimination of outstanding Czechoslovak athletes on political grounds and expresses the athletes' desire to represent "a progressive and democratic" state, and a 600-word statement issued at an extraordinary session of the Central Committee Presidium of the Union for Cooperation With the Army (SVAZARM). The statement mentions that the session decided to "abolish defense-political training in the present form" and to use the time earmarked for it either for "dialogue on topical questions of social development" or for "specialized training of the staff." According to the report, the session also "complied with the request of Comrades Budil, Dragoun, Horacek, Roch, and Vrba that they be released from the post of members of the SVAZARM Central Committee Presidium."

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 29 November publishes the following items on the domestic political situation, in addition to material on the extraordinary session of the Communist Party of Slovakia (CPSL) Central Committee, items which are also carried by RUDE PRAVO, or items that are covered by items filed from other sources. On page 3, it carries a 4,000-word article by Miloslav Spacek, deputy director of the CPCZ Central Committee's Institute of Marxism-Leninism, and Pavol Kanis, deputy director of the CPSL Central Committee's Institute of Marxism- Leninism, entitled "For the Party's Revolutionary Renewal." The article attributes the party's present "critical situation" to the restoration of administrative and command methods in the party's work after the defeat of the party's "progressive line of development" in the late sixties. The authors argue that, for the party to regain authority, it must stop being a retarding force of social development and become its driving force, initiate a timely solution to problems, and, instead of being irritated by criticism, must "be the most consistent critic of phenomena that are incompatible with the values of a worthy, humanistic socialist society." They say that "the CPCZ and CPSL must be headed by true political personalities of the median generation who have the intellectual capacity to wage an open political struggle for the party's authority and influence in the public."

On its page 3, PRAVDA also carries an undated 1,600-word interview with Yevgeniy Chernov, head of the Bratislava office of the Soviet press agency NOVOSTI, entitled "A View From Another Side." Chernov says that the present events in Czechoslovakia did not come unexpectedly. What surprised him, however, has been their fast pace: "Neither in the USSR, nor in Poland, Hungary, nor the GDR have we experienced anything like it. Only a few days after the student demonstration in Prague [on 17 November], most members of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium were out of office." Asked about his impressions from the public demonstrations, Chernov says that he is "enthusiastic about the high standard of the rallies, their disciplined course, and the mutual respect [displayed there]" and "greatly impressed" by the general strike of 27 November. Unlike in the Soviet Union where strikes have already deprived the economy of R6 billion this year, Chernov says, the Czechoslovak strike showed the workers' "sense of

responsibility lest political discussions harm the country's national economy and the population." "You will not find such a form of strike in any other country," the Soviet journalist adds.

On the same page, Bratislava PRAVDA carries a 1,000-word article by Matej Beno, deputy minister of education, youth, and physical training of the Slovak Socialist Republic, entitled "Unity of Teaching Collectives." In the article, Beno issues some guidelines and recommendations for the schools' conduct in the "current revolutionary movement of society." He recommends, for example, that the valid civics curriculum for primary and secondary schools be dropped and replaced by dialogue with students on the "ongoing social processes and changes." Moreover, grading of students in civics will be abolished for the current school year and civics will no longer be accepted as an optional subject for the end-of-school examination. Beno also issues the instruction that the teaching of history in primary and secondary schools come to an end with the year 1918, until the ministry issues further guidelines, and that "ideological-political indoctrination classes for the pedagogical staff be canceled with immediate effect." Other guidelines include the "inadmissibility of any repressive action against pupils and students for their participation in rallies and demonstrations."

This last provision also features in the 300-word communique on talks between the Slovak Socialist Republic Ministry of Education, Youth, and Physical Training and the Coordinating Committee of Slovak Universities, which is also published on page 3. On page 4, PRAVDA publishes a 2,600-word roundup of resolutions, statements, and letters by organizations and individuals, most of which express support for the students' demands for free elections and other political reforms. A statement issued by the staff of the Slovak Ministry of Culture, for example, calls for "the dissociation in principle from Stalinism as the source of deformations in the party, society, culture, and the arts" and demands the "reassessment of 1968 and its political and cadre consequences." Many statements endorse Karel Urbanek's election as general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and demand the earliest possible convening of an extraordinary party congress. A few statements also condemn the organizers of the televised demonstrations in Prague and Bratislava because "they are not interested in genuine discussion," want to "gain cheap popularity by ridiculing state representatives," and do not allow any expression of dissenting views.

On page 5, under the headline "Through the Prism of One's Own Experiences," PRAVDA publishes Moscow correspondent Vladimir Jancura's short interviews with several Soviet parliamentarians (Samarin, Yeltsin, Bunich, Oleynik, and Boldyrev) on their view of Czechoslovak developments. The interviews, which total 800 words, were made during an intermission of the 28 November session of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Vladimir Samarin says, for example, that the "explosion" in Czechoslovakia was to be expected because the "former leadership only simulated restructuring." Boris Yeltsin welcomes the fact that "you have taken some radical steps much faster and more energetically than we have." He also urges the Soviet leadership to condemn "the method of the solution to the 1968 events," saying that "it is better to admit one's guilt now than to do so later under the pressure of your and world public opinion." Pavel Bunich says that "were it not for the interruption by force of the 'Prague Spring,' Czechoslovakia would now probably be the first socialist country with an efficient model of economic development." Yuriy Boldyrev welcomes the changes in Czechoslovakia, "also because our domestic conservative forces are being deprived of another moral mainstay."

Chronology of Krenz, CC Resignations

People's Chamber Session

LD0112143389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1115 GMT 1 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—GDR Premier Hans Modrow feels seriously burdened in his own work by the unstated personal blame of members of the previous government. His words to ADN before the beginning of the 13th People's Chamber session were: "I am living with this at the moment. But I hope that a lifting of these burdens can take place in the next weeks with the help of all the investigations. It is not only one question, there are many." Although the old government under Willi Stoph will not be questioned today—as demanded and announced at the 11th session (13 November)—Modrow sees in the agenda item concerning withdrawal of immunity the possibility of dealing with the issue. The expected interim report from the temporary People's Chamber commission, headed by Heinrich Toepelitz (Christian Democratic Union), on cases of abuse of office, corruption, personal enrichment and other acts where the suspicion of violation of the law exists will be suitable for this.

On the demand that has been expressed on an immediate dissolution of the GDR parliament, Modrow stated: "I hold the view that the People's Chamber should fulfill its responsibility until new elections. The date of these will be decided with the presentation of a law. A commission has also been set up for this. The chamber has made itself independent in this matter and has taken its decision. We are an organ of this People's Chamber. I cannot make a decision on this today." As far as he can see, this commission has to date formulated no standpoint on a date for elections.

Corruption Attacked

LD0112210789 East Berlin Television Service in German 1712 GMT 1 Dec 89

[Report by National Democratic Party of Germany (NDPD) Deputy Moegling at the People's Chamber Session in Berlin—live]

[Excerpt] I think we are all filled with outrage about everything we have heard today about the hearings so far. And when the foreign trade minister says he did not know where this money went via these peculiar organizations, I do not wish to prejudge; I accept that from him, but then, there must be someone who does know, and I think that we should speak clearly here. We have heard a lot of names today, of sons and relatives and so on, who have to some extent been involved in malpractice. And I must say that—as Willi Stoph and some others from the old government said here, the new one is not responsible for it—it was the old Politburo which governed this country, ignoring the government, and was involved in improprieties. Some members of the old Politburo have been brought to book. I would ask the Socialist Unity Party of Germany general secretary to help clarifiy these matters, as he was in the Politburo for a long time, and must know more about these things than all of us—to make a statement, if not here today, then at the party congress, or before the next session of the People's Chamber, and say how he, as State Council chairman—he was elected by a majority of this house—stands on this, what he knows of these things. [passage omitted]

Krenz Speech at Chamber

LD0112212189 East Berlin Television Service in German 1730 GMT 1 Dec 89

[Speech by Egon Krenz, general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED) Central Committee, at the People's Chamber session in Berlin—live]

[Text] Mr President, ladies and gentlemen. I am not one of those who would like to say here: I am in no way responsible. I have acknowledged my responsibility at the ninth meeting of my party's Central Committee. I said that there were serious political errors made by my leadership, and that these serious political errors have led our country into a deep political crisis. I added that the entire politburo and Central Committee of my party must take responsibility for this, and I said at the same time that I recognized my own responsibility.

That can be read in the documents on the ninth session of the SED Central Committee. I ask for your understanding if I strictly separate two things from one another—on the one hand the political mistakes that were made, and, on the other, the criminal machinations that were spoken of. Regarding the political mistakes, they must be pursued, they must be evaluated, and political mechanisms must be created so that they are never repeated. But I would like to say quite openly that in pursuing political mistakes that were made while working, one should tread carefully. One must check precisely whether they were made with certain intentions, were based on wrong behavior, or resulted from some other reasons. For this reason, I would say, looking at it today, that there are three things for which I reproach myself:

First, I believed for too long that political change in the country could be carried out with the general secretary of the SED and chairman of the Council of State at that time. My thoughts and ideas on politics in this country changed with my transfer from my function as first secretary of the FDJ [Free German Youth] Central Council, into the immediate leadership of the party more than 5 years ago. At that time I felt that there was a contradiction between the atmosphere and opinions I had come to know among young people as a youth official, and the atmosphere and opinions reflected in the leadership collective of my party. Colleagues and comrades and friends sitting in this house, not only from my party, but also from the CDU [Christian Democratic Union] and other parties, know that this goal was practiced in the FDJ.

I tried to exert an influence in this spirit during certain events, particularly after Comrade Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev was elected general secretary of the CPSU in the Soviet Union. Today, I say today, I regard it as our greatest mistake that at that time we did not ask ourselves early enough what conditions emerge from this situation for our country as well. Not that I am talking about copying, ladies and gentlemen; not that I thought that we should do everything just the same. But the basic question that socialism must be more strongly linked to democracy, that socialism must have a human face, this basic question raised by the Soviet communists in 1985 had much that we could have learned from.

Therefore, I must say here that, first, I see this error: I did not act consistently here. I believed that this must be done in conjunction with the entire leadership. Second, I have a very disciplined relationship with my party, and I believe that everyone who is organized in a political party has this relationship. I believed firmly that the leadership unity was important for the unity of the action of the entire party. Today I know that this is important if it results in a collective discussion and a collective position, and if in this way the collective standpoint expresses the unity of opinion.

I admit that this was a learning process for me and that I have undergone this learning process over the years. Third, I would like to add that I have learned in these times that half-heartedness in politics is not enough. Even when the necessary majorities are not there, one must take the appropriate steps.

You must judge for yourselves whether this came too late, but I would like to add, and my comrades and colleagues in my party's central committee can confirm this, that at the ninth meeting of the central committee of my party, I seized this initiative to ensure that the change in my party was implemented more strongly—for I am talking of the change in my party. I tried to put forward the basic ideas which concern me on the GDR's political and economic profile, not only at the meeting of the central committee, but I tried also in my statement here to the People's Chamber, on my election as chairman of the GDR Council of State, to submit the basic principles of my views on the political profile of our country as well. A great deal that was on the agenda then has gone into our actual activity here in the supreme organ of power in the GDR. So I would like to underscore this: I recognize my responsibility, but I also recognize that everyone should be given the chance to undergo learning process, and, ladies and gentlemen, I would submit that everyone who sits here in this house has also undergone a learning process. [applause]

This atmosphere as we feel it today here in the People's Chamber, this atmosphere as it is today in our media, ladies and gentlemen, was not always there, and not all those who are bravest today were the bravest then. [applause]

I also profess my belief in style, in a cultured style. People tell me I am too soft on the members of the old Politburo. Perhaps there is truth in this. But, comrades and colleagues, esteemed ladies and gentlemen, I am sticking to what Deputy Toelpitz said. One should speak the word of condemnation when the facts are on the table; and it contradicts my nature to cite things which are paraded as facts in the Western media. I would like us to be led by facts that this investigative committee ascertains, that we allow ourselves to be led by facts that are actually gleaned from life. I feel this is part of the political goal of our approach.

I would like to say something else which has to be seen in judging political mistakes, not in criminal ones. It is not only bad things that have been done in our country. Much has been achieved in these 40 years, and one of the supporting pillars of this state is antifascism. I would also like it if, despite all the political mistakes which must be condemned, people always think of this basis of our state, which was linked to certain politicians, that this basis of our state not be forgotten. But that is the past. If that past is used, so to speak, in order to profit in the present, then that meets with my displeasure much as my friend, Wolfgang Herger, expressed it in the statement he gave on behalf of my party.

I would like to say to the House that as well as the responsibility of which I spoke, there were also a series of things about which I knew nothing—really nothing. I was never at the leisure facilities or hunting lodges of other Politburo members. I would like to say here in front of the House that every year I spent my vacation at the Council of Minister's guest house in (Diehasen) on the basis of a childhood experience. (Wesenitz- Stammgarten) is my home town, and there, where this Council of Ministers' building now stands, was one of our favorite places to play during my schooldays. That can be checked, and colleague Toelpitz will confirm this, as we were often there together. I have no hunting lodge, no hunting schloss; I have no hunting grounds, and do not have a holiday home, ladies and gentlemen.

I place great value on this because it gives me the moral ability to support cleanliness as well as clean socialism, and for this reason I believe it is part of our program when we speak of a renewed socialism that it is economically efficient, that it is socially just, that it is democratic politically, and that it is moraly pure. I would like to work for this cleanliness, and if you, ladies and gentlemen, can convince yourselves that it is there, I would like to do this in my function. If you have a different opinion, then I will comply with any other decision. [applause]

Modrow Addresses Session

LD0112181789 East Berlin Television Service in German 1426 GMT 1 Dec 89

[Speech by GDR Premier Hans Modrow at People's Chamber session in Berlin—live]

[Text] First of all, regarding the latter part of the question [from a Democratic Women (DFD) deputy on women's, family, and socal policy], we have established that the government will by 7 December clarify those questions connected with the reformation of the individual ministries. The ministries are instructed to clarify this by 1 December, but I think we should have understanding in view of the extent of the problems involved in the structure of the ministries, the amalgamation—particularly in the economic area, but also the Ministry of Education, and this will perhaps also answer a question that was raised in a contribution that we listened to with emotion. It is known that we have, in the meantime, created an Education Ministry and that the Council of Ministers has created the Ministry of Youth and Sport, so that we can bring together this side of the problems, and Wilfried Posner has agreed to head this office. This has been confirmed by the Council of Ministers, and this office is subordinate to me personally. [applause]

Regarding the necessary proposals for the occupation of state secretary and deputy functions, we will note the question from the DFD group and would also like to take this opportunity to stress it to my coalition partners, because the fact is that female ministers currently active in the government come only from the ranks of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and we would also like to ask the parties to take an active part in this. [applause]

Regarding the other question, I would propose the following: I had a meeting with the trade unions, the friends of sport asked for one, also the VDGB [Peasant Mutual Aid Association], so that talks could also be taken up with the farmers, and we would also agree to discuss these problems with the women's organization, and also outside it, at the start of the coming year and then make proposals for the future in a democratic way and so create a basis, as said in the government statement, as to how women can play an even more decisive part, not only in responsible functions but also in society. [applause]

Second Modrow Address

LD0112234889 East Berlin Television Service in German 1742 GMT 1 Dec 89

[Second Address by GDR Premier Hans Modrow at People's Chamber Session in Berlin—live]

[Text] Most esteemed deputies. You will have seen that I left the session for a while. Downstairs there was a large group of several hundred workers from the VEB Bergmann-Borsig enterprise here in Berlin who had come to the house, and they conveyed their demand for all those events that we are dealing with here to be thoroughly investigated and cleared up, and linked their demand to come to a legal verdict swiftly and commitedly with this, the demand that no one anywhere will be permitted an opportunity to cover anything up or to allow half-hearted measures or other things. I told the colleagues and workers that Dr Toelpitz was informing the People's Chamber at that very moment, at the same time as we were holding talks and a debate with one another, on all those circumstances in those problems that we were discussing downstairs in the foyer. It must be said clearly that everything which has been experienced here in the report, in the debate, and in the questions, I think moves all of us, and it is understandable that it moves the citizens of our country to the same extent and much more.

The new government is facing up to its responsibility by using its opportunities to do everything to put a stop in the future to that which we recognize as shady in the course of these events. Yesterday's meeting of the Council of Ministers also stated this, as announced in the press, and Dr Toeplitz has already pointed out what instructions I have already given in this connection on individual problems. The government will draw its conclusions from every stage of the investigation, and requests that we are informed on new information gained at every stage in such a manner that conclusions can be drawn by the government, too, and the relevant committed measures taken. I think we cannot take responsibility for any other way. I link to this the request to work so swiftly that this difficult and dirty part of our lives—and it will soon be seen, of the history of our country—will be finished with. We have every cause not to cover up or trivialize anything here, but at the same time to do everything so that we advance together with our citizens, calmly and responsibly.

People have spoken about the work of the state security bodies and the expression that there was an impression or that the impression arose, was not chosen very exactly. There was surveillance of the people by the Stasis. It was a situation in which many people felt this. And downstairs in the talks, two fathers came to me in tears and said: My boy was arrested at the demonstration and did not return home for days. That kind of thing moves a father. And the other spoke about how, for whatever reasons, their son no longer lives in their family home but has left the republic, and that they now expect us to be so effective and active that confidence will grow. I said at the first session of the Council of Ministers after its confirmation by the People's Chamber, and I would like to repeat it here: One can lose confidence in a few minutes. Gaining confidence takes weeks, months, and sometimes years. And it will only be possible to regain even a very small piece of confidence if we work with this resolution and commitment. The colleagues from Bergmann-Borsig expect talks with the GDR state prosecutor in their factory and the workers' collective because their confidence has been significantly limited and, to a large extent, lost in jurisdiction in this connection; they say

that openly. Those who were quick to draw conclusions about someone, would now like the consequences to be postponed for a long time.

All of this moves us. But I have also not failed to say those words which I heard—even before I went downstairs—from my friend Heinrich Toeplitz. Yes, nobody is to be condemned before sentence has been passed. That, too, is a part of the civilization of the life with which we are dealing today. And everybody here in this noble House, as well as in the street, enterprises, institutions, and establishments, even in the state organs for which I am now responsible, must be aware: We live in a fateful era, in a period that challenges us with circumspection and responsibility. The appeal "For Our Country" comes from conscientious, honest, patriotic citizens of our country. Let us use this departure [aufbruch] in particular for our country, so that we may gain our country for us, for the future, which is not just our concern but the special concern of our children and our children's children. The Roundtable has been agreed; it should lead to a genuinely new departure of all those forces in the country that today are gaining trust, already have trust, which are fighting for trust, but (?it should also lead) to everybody being prepared to accept responsibility. [prolonged applause]

Corruption Probe Requested

LD0112210489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1920 GMT 1 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Deputy Wolfgang Herger, on behalf of the SED [Socialist Unity Party of German] group, called in the People's Chamber today for the unreserved uncovering of cases of abuses of power and personal financial gain. "The cases of abuse of power and personal gain by former members of the SED and state leadership and other leading functionaries, which have become known in the past days and weeks and which are still surfacing fill us with the deepest outrage," he said.

"Such degeneracy cannot be reconciled either with the ideals and objectives of our party or with the principles of socialist legitimacy." The total deformation of inner-party democracy made it possible for a number of people to defile most basely the respect and name of the party as a result of corruption, individual financial gain, embezzlement, and the illegal appropriation of public property. Thus, they deceived and gravely disappointed the entire working people. The upright and selflessly working members of the SED in particular had been disappointed, lied to, and deceived. "We declare that together with the members of our party, with all of the working people of our country we call for the uncompromising and merciless realization of the following measures:

"—The unreserved uncovering of all cases of abuse of power and personal fianancial gain,

"—The immediate resignation or dismissal of discredited leading cadres in party, social organizations, and state from all their functions,

"—Immediate expulsion from the party once abuse of power has been proved,

"—Immediate instigation of criminal proceedings in cases of well-founded detention according to current legal stipulations."

The SED deputies, collaborating in the People's Chamber ad hoc committee under the chairmanship of Deputy Dr Toeplitz, have been expressly tasked with helping to execute these tasks uncompromisingly and without restraint.

"At the same time we appeal to all the members of our party, the citizens of our country, to defend the respect and dignity of all honest comrades and state officials against slander and defamation, and to help create democratic mechanisms which will exclude in the future all abuses of office and power once and for all," Herger said.

Restoration of Old Lander

LD0112155189 East Berlin Television Service in German 1411 GMT 1 Dec 89

[Speech by Deputy Manfred von Ardenne at People's Chamber session in Berlin on 1 December—live]

[Excerpts] Mr President, most esteemed deputies, allow me three remarks. Firstly, on changes in the economy. On 17 November the new Council of Ministers was presented. With its independence and far-reaching decision-making powers it today represents the supreme power, and the responsibility for the coming important economic reforms are in its hands. It is unsettling that after 14 days only a few contours of a concept on ministerial responsibility have become visible. I base this assessment on the televison debate on 28 November 1989. We have all experienced how we have been brought to the brink of economic crisis as a result of the bad management of our economy by Dr Mittag. When will competence, a program, and the will to take decisions become visible in this so extremely important area? [passage omitted]

Now I come to the second point: on the situation in respect to people close to our Council of Ministers. Currently a shocking resistance by the old apparatus to the new ministers in some ministries can be observed, partially for example, [interrupted by applause] partially for example by the deputy ministers and the officials at the level below this. I would like to encourage these ministers to clear out the area around them energetically, and to employ men who have their trust and share their thinking. [applause] [passage omitted]

The third point, on administrative reform. We have experienced the inadequacies and the abuse of central power in all areas, in the economy, culture, jurisdiction,

etc. The aim now is the reduction of central power and enhancing responsibility at the periphery. That requires, as we just heard, the destruction of the old administrative structures while reducing the effort required for administration. For this it seems topical to recall the GDR's first constitution of 7 October 1949, in which the division of the country into Lander was firmly anchored, Lander which had grown up ethnically and historically. [applause]

I quote from this constitution, Article One: Germany is an indivisible democratic republic. It is based on the German Lander. The republic decides on all issues important for the continued existence and the development of the German people as a whole. All other matters are decided independently by the Lander. Furthermore, a Chamber of Lander will be formed to represent the German Lander.

Today I think that the abolition of the lander in our republic in 1958 occurred with the background of the philosophy of power, divide, and rule. An administrative division of the GDR into the traditional five lander would bring with it, besides the administrative simplification, the advantage that the old state structures, which are less than happy about reform, would automatically be dissolved. Apart from this, the formation of lander would help our people in finding their identity.

I propose, for this reason, and in agreement with no few people who think the same on this issue, to the Constitutional Committee a new division of the GDR into the five traditional lander within the framework of administrative reform. [applause]

Thousands Demonstrate

LD3011224189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2205 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Text] Rostock (ADN)—Several thousand Rostock residents demonstrated in the city center this evening for socialism with a human face. They also demanded the dissolution of the current People's Chamber and the complete demilitarization of the GDR.

In front of the National People's Army building, a spokesman for the Rostock citizens' committee criticized the measures announced by the Modrow government as unspecific and proceeding only sluggishly.

CC Session Scheduled

LD0112163989 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1618 GMT 1 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Committee Politburo has convened an extraordinary session of the Central Committee this Sunday in Berlin.

According to a press statement, the agenda includes discussion of the situation in the party, a report by the chairman of the ZPKK [Central Party Control Commission], and the adoption of a resolution on the consequences of this report.

Krenz Candidacy Debated

LD0212104389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1112 GMT 2 Dec 89

[Text] Rosotock (ADN)—Egon Krenz, general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee, is taking part in the SED delegate conference of the Ribnitz-Damgarten district (Rostock Area) in Barth today.

The 300 representatives elected by their basic organizations have been debating since this morning. They intend to elect a new district executive, as well as their delegates to the extraordinary party congress.

Debate on sending Egon Krenz as a delegate to the highest SED body, which has been summoned to meet in Berlin, is also on the agenda.

Krenz Leaves for Rally

LD0212134189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1311 GMT 2 Dec 89

[Excerpt] Rostock (ADN)—Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] General Secretary Egon Krenz is to answer questions and demands from Berlin party workers at a rally this evening in front of the Central Committee headquarters in Berlin.

He thus left the SED district delegate conference of Ribnitz-Damgarten in Barth (Rostock Area) at midday, earlier than planned; with unanimous consent, to return to Berlin. He told comrades from his home district that the unity of the SED now was needed above all else. [passage omitted]

Politburo Member Resigns

LD0212151289 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1353 GMT 2 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Hans-Joachim Willerding today announced his resignation as a candidate member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] Central Committee. In a statement conveyed by him to ADN, he expained his move by saying that he no longer sees the possibility to work convincingly as a member of the current party leadership. Socialist renewal is only conceivable if the Communist Party treads this path united and unified around a leadership that is capable of acting. There must be this kind of leadership at the head of the movement. Contrary to this, it is being attempted to fulfill the processes of renewal by going around the party. This is not only leading the party further onto the defensive, but into dissolving itself.

In his statement, Hans-Joachim Willerding outlines in five points the priority tasks which, in his view, must

now be implemented immediately. He describes as the most important that of the party establishing a new consensus in its basic stand on the perspectives of socialism, and the SED's self-image with its communist and social- democratic traditions at the extraordinary party congress in December. He also demands the immediate and comprehensive exposures of misuse of office and function of responsible party members by the party leadership, and the necessary consequences to be taken.

Explains Resignation

LD0212153689 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1500 GMT 2 Dec 89

[Excerpts] Hans-Joachim Willerding, candidate member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] Central Committee, has resigned from his functions. At around noon today he explained his decision to GDR radio by saying that he sees no possibilities to work with the current party leadership. [passage omitted] It is a matter of saving the SED and of its political, ideological, and moral rebirth. At the moment this is not the case. The irreparable damage which has already been done could be limited, and healthy forces are in a position to do this.

According to Willerding, the Central Committee must have the confidence of and authority from the party members. As a minimum demand, no one should stand for election who had been a member of the Politburo before the change. He suggested dealing separately with objective and subjective mistakes by the previous leadership as the first part of the extraordinary party congress, in order to be able to turn constructively to the party's renewal in the second part.

Further Demonstration

LD0212190189 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1800 GMT 2 Dec 89

[Text] Thousands of Magdeburg citizens gathered this afternoon on the Domplatz for a rally and subsequent demonstration, called by New Forum and the Social Democratic Party [SDP]. A spokesman for New Forum said that minorities are still deprived of political opportunity. The Socialist Unity Party of Germany, with Egon Krenz at its head, offers no guarantee that developments in the GDR will be irreversible. Controversial views on the subject of a union of GDR and FRG were expressed today at a demonstration in Potsdam.

Krenz Faces Questions

LD0212184289 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1805 GMT 2 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—This evening, several thousand Berlin party members demonstrated in front of the Central Committee building in Berlin for a radical renewal of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED]. As was emphasized in the appeal made by the SED Prenzlauer Berg District Executive for the rally on this, on the eve of the extraordinary Central Committee session, the party leadership and party congress, and delegates should be shown what the Berlin comrades favor and what they are against.

SED General Secretary Egon Krenz, who left today's district delegates' conference in Ribnitz-Damgarten early because of this, faced the questions and demands from the Berlin party members.

Krenz Resignation Demanded

LD0212193289 Hamburg DPA in German 1857 GMT 2 Dec 89

[Excerpt] East Berlin (DPA)—On the eve of the crisis session of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee, thousands have been chanting outside the Central Committee building in East Berlin, calling for the resignation of the entire Politburo. SED General Secretary Egon Krenz, who wanted to speak to the crowd, was jeered down. Clearly discouraged, he left the microphone after a few minutes. [passage omitted]

Krenz Named Delegate

LD0212202789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1905 GMT 2 Dec 89

[Text] Rostock (ADN)—SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] General Secretary Egon Krenz was elected as a delegate to the extraordinary party congress at the Ribnitz-Damgarten Kreis [District] delegate conference in Barth—Rostock Bezirk [Area]—today by 267 representatives of grass-roots party organizations, with 19 votes against.

The decision was preceeded by a discussion lasting several hours, in the course of which Egon Krenz this morning faced numerous questions and demands from the comrades of his home district. Ute Brecheis, an employee of the Ribnitz Fibre Board Works, expressed her impression that the party leadership still did not seem to have grasped that the disintegration of the SED was already in full swing.

In her enterprise the rate of resignations had already reached 40 percent, largely due to the delay in uncovering misuse of office and corruption. There must, therefore, at long last be action for the party to regain the standing that Wilhelm Pieck and Otto Grotewohl sealed with a handshake in 1946 [the founding of the SED]

In reply to the demand for a Marxist-Leninist party with a new name in the GDR, Egon Krenz said: The handshake on the party emblem is the symbol of unity and the name Unity Party should remain our symbol, because we need nothing so much now as the unity of the party. We would otherwise stop in their tracks those comrades who represent the social democratic tradition in our party and drive them in another direction. If the party demanded it, Egon Krenz said, he would resign as general secretary and continue to fight for the SED in whatever other function necessary.

The delegates emphatically called on Egon Krenz to work more energetically in his function as SED general secretary and State Council chairman for the failings of leading former functionaries to be punished more quickly, the investigations to be speeded up, and the measures taken to be published. Expected were party disciplinary action, expulsions, and legal action.

'Outrage' Over Corruption

LD0212215889 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2040 GMT 2 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—A rally outside the Central Committee building in Berlin today was marked by outrage about the misuse of power and about corruption involving members of the party leadership and also by deep concern about the survival of the SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany]. Several thousand Communists answered the call made by the SED Prenzlauer Berg Kreis [District] Executive. Numerous speakers made powerful calls for the immediate resignation of the Politburo and denied the legitimacy of the Central Committee to act in the interest of the party grass roots. They demanded the immediate creation of a working secretariat to take over the leadership of the SED until the special party congress.

There was strong criticism that the party leadership continues to examine the criminal activity of leading functionaries only half- heartedly and hesitantly. Egon Krenz, who came to the rally from the Ribnitz-Damgarten Kreis delegate conference, was called on to make a statement on the extent to which he had known about the goings-on in the party leadership. He had come to face his responsibility and would report to the Central Committee session on Sunday [3 December] about the mood here. "I regard it as incompatible to associate everything to do with misuse of power and corruption with one single party member. I regard this as a contradiction," he said, interrupted by whistles and calls to "resign." "What our party needs now is to stand together against division, for unity."

Several of the 31 speakers had come to the rally directly from the party kreis delegate conference in Berlin—for example from Koepenick, Marzahn, Hohenschoenhausen, Koenigs Wusterhausen, the State Planning Commission, and Humboldt University. They gave assurances that they had only given a congressional mandate to those comrades who aimed consistently for a fundamental renewal of the SED. It was stressed several times that the party must have only morally clean members, that it must at long last once again represent the interests of the workers, and preserve the legacy of Communists, and in particular of Social Democrats.

There were chants and banners saying "no division of the party"; "Down with Stalinism"; "We support the Modrow government"; "No renewal without clearing the decks"; and "We are the party!." The crowd reacted with prolonged calls of "work, work" to a declaration by a comrade from the State Planning Commission that one day of a general strike would mean the absence of goods worth 800 million marks.

In the event that the Politburo would not resign at the Central Committee meeting, the participants in the rally announced a further gathering outside the Central Committee building for Sunday.

Mass Resignation Demanded

LD0312112789 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1100 GMT 3 Dec 89

[Text] The Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] district delegates conference of the Academy of Sciences has summoned Berlin comrades to the front of the Central Committee building at 1500 [1400 GMT] this afternoon on the basis of the latest revalations on the abuse of office and power. They want to force the immediate resignation of the Central Committee and Politburo, as demanded massively at yesterday evening's rally.

Apart from this, all Berlin delegates to the party congress are invited to the Assembly Hall of the Academy of Sciences at 1900 [1800 GMT].

So far, we have no information on whether the SED Central Committee session announced for today has begun.

CC Session Begins

LD0312123389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1221 GMT 3 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—An extraordinary session of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Commit'ee began today in Berlin.

On the agenda are, as had been announced, the discussion of the situation in the party, a report from the chairman of the Central Party Control Commission; and the passing of a resolution on the consequences of this report.

Citizens Form 'Human Chain'

LD0312132989 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1302 GMT 3 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Countless GDR citizens today announced their resolution for the country's democratic renewal by a human chain through the GDR. Following a call by the Sign of Atonement Campaign, New Forum, and other organizations, they formed up along the roads F-96, F-2, as well as F-173 and F-7, from 1200 to 1215. They expressed their concern about the country's future and their demands for renewal, as well as for the punishment of all those guilty of abuse of power or corruption.

CC Resigns; Honecker Expelled

LD0312142689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1412 GMT 3 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Committee unanimously declared its resignation at its 12th session today. A working commission will be formed for the further preparation of the extraordinary party congress.

A number of members of the former party leadership, including Erich Honecker, Willi Stoph, and Horst Sindermann were expelled from the Central Committee and from the party.

Resignations Announced

LD0312152789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1440 GMT 3 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee [CC] announced its resignation at its 12th meeting today. A working committee is to be set up for the further preparation of the extraordinary party congress. A whole series of members of the former party leadership, including Erich Honecker, Willi Stoph, and Horst Sindermann were expelled from the Central Committee and from the party.

In the SED CC building in Berlin, Guenter Schabowski this afternoon reported on this decision of the 12th CC meeting, which was made after a relatively short discussion. In the decision, the CC notes that the process of radical renewal of the party is advancing very swiftly from the party base. The district delegates conferences are a most impressive witness to this in the time of preparations for the extraordinary party congress.

All the conferences developed into forums of practical and objective debate on the obstacles to, and also the requirements of the process of renewal of the party and of socialism in the GDR. The discussion, in connection with the election of delegates to the party congress, had been determined by the many ideas, proposals, and initiatives on how the party must reshape itself in the conditions of a deep crisis.

After the plenum ended, Guenter Schabowski announced that at the 12th SED CC meeting, the following decision of the existing Politburo had been accepted:

The Politburo accepts the criticism from large sections of the membership that the then-leadership of the party was not in a position, in accordance with the instructions of the 9th and 10th CC meetings, to reveal the full extent and gravity of the shortcomings of members of the then-Politburo, or to draw the necessary consequences from this.

This observation must be made, although members of the Politburo to date made considerable efforts in the then-leadership of the Party to implement the personal and political decisions that have introduced the process of renewal in the party leadership. In order to counteract further danger to the existence of the party, and to guarantee the political and organizational preparation of the party congress, the Politburo deems it necessary to announce its resignation.

Guenter Schabowski added: The work for the further political and organizational preparation of the party congress will be continued by a working committee, which is to be named. This committee will constitute itself this afternoon.

This committee will then avail itself of the opportunity to inform the public about itself and its work, Guenter Schabowski said. It could be expected that the committee would include those members of the party who were particularly active in the process of party renewal.

Working Committee Named

LD0312153289 Hamburg DPA in German 1513 GMT 3 Dec 89

[Excerpt] East Berlin (DPA)—The new Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] working committee, which will run the SED's affairs in place of the resigned Politburo and Central Committee until the party congress in 2 weeks, is to include the East Berlin SED Bezirk [Area] chief Heinz Albrecht. He announced this after the resignation of the party leadership today. He also reported that this new body would include a number of other party bosses.

Guenter Schabowski reported on the latest decisions at around 1500 outside the Central Committee building. Up to 10,000 people, including a large number of SED members, had gathered here. [passage omitted]

Text of Resolution

LD0312165189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1602 GMT 3 Dec 89

["Text" of resolution of 12th Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED) Central Committee session issued on 3 December]

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The SED Central Committee notes that the process of radical renewal of the party from the grass roots is moving forward swiftly. Impressive proof of this is provided by the district [Kreis] delegates' conferences in preparation for the extraordinary party congress. All the conferences are becoming forums for fundamental and objective debate about the obstacles and requirements of the process of renewal of the party and of socialism in the GDR.

The discussion in connection with the elections of the delegates to the party congress was characterized by many ideas, proposals, and initiatives on how the party must form itself anew under the conditions of the deep crisis in order to gain the strength without which a socialist society with a human face cannot be shaped in the GDR.

This is inextricably linked with the remorseless investigation of the abuse of office and power by former members of the party and state leadership. The delegates' conferences unanimously expressed their outrage and condemnation of the criminal actions and offenses, which have done serious damage to our party and to the GDR. The delegates strongly criticized the fact that the SED Central Committee Politburo and the Central Party Control Commission incompletely fulfilled the task entrusted to them of fully investigating possible violations of the law and unjustified claims to privileges, the whole extent of corruption and usurped rights. The work done on this is characterized by inconsistency and half-heartedness. The Politburo unreservedly acknowledges the justice of this criticism.

At the instigation of the Politburo and as a result of the investigations so far by the Central Party Control Commission, the Central Committee resolves:

1. Hans Albrecht, Erich Honecker, Werner Krolikowski, Guenther Kleiber, Erich Mielke, Gerhard Mueller, Alexander Schalck- Golodkowski, Horst Sindermann, Willi Stoph, Harry Tisch, Herbert Ziegenhahn and Dieter Mueller are expelled from the Central Committee.

Because of their serious violations of the SED Statute, and in view of the many demands and applications from district delegates' conferences, they are also expelled from the SED.

2. The Central Committee announces its resignation.

3. The previous Central Committee regards it as its duty to render an account of the causes of the crisis in the SED and in society before the extraordinary party congress. A commission is to be formed for this purpose.

Working Committee Announced

LD0312172189 Hamburg DPA in German 1702 GMT 3 Dec 89

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—The new Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] working committee, which is to prepare the extraordinary party congress in mid-December, includes party members who have emerged recently as advocates of reform and renewal.

The chairman of the committee, which constituted itself this afternoon after the resignation of the SED Central Committee Politburo, is to be Herbert Kroker, first secretary of the Erfurt SED Area [Bezirk] Executive.

Many members of the Central Committee were informed that Gregor Gysi, chairman of the College of GDR Lawyers; Markus Wolf, former head of GDR counterintelligence; and Wolfgang Berghofer, mayor of Dresden, are also to be included on the committee.

Further on Working Committee

LD0312181189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1720 GMT 3 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—To loud applause from the participants in the rally in front of the Central Committee building, the lawyer Gregor Gysi took the microphone at about 1730. He had come directly from the session of the working committee for a first briefing. "You have been informed that the Central Committee and the Politburo have resigned," he said. "At the insitigation of the first secretaries of the bezirk [area] executives of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], who have also been elected as delegates to the extraordinary party congress, a working committee has been formed to prepare the party congress. It concerns the salvation of our party. We want a new formation of a modern socialist party from below."

It is a matter of saving this country and socialism. The lawyer, who in the last few weeks has become widely known in the GDR for his repeated militant appearances, then announced who had come to the Central Committee offices for the constitution of the working committee. Loud applause greeted names like Wolfgang Berghofer, mayor of Dresden; Klaus Woepcke; Dagmar Huelsenberg, Chamber of Technology president; Markus Wolf, writer; Brigitte Zimmermann, journalist. Prime Minister Hans Modrow was to have belonged to the committee, but said that he had to devote himself to government work. "And if we are taking the separation of party and state seriously," Gysi said to approving applause, "we should respect this standpoint." The working committee is headed by Herbert Kroker. The present secretary of the Erfurt SED Bezirk Executive was reprimanded and removed from office by then-Politburo member and Economics Secretary Guenter Mittag.

No one who has recently been a member of the Politburo is a member of this committee. "And I think that is the correct thing," Gregor Gysi stressed, again to approval from the crowd. The committee is now relying on everyone's support. The party congress must be prepared in such a way that the signals for the new movement would really emanate from it. "We must at last put ourselves at the forefront of the movement."

As a first measure, a committee has been formed to investigate violations of the party statute and legality by former and present officials of the SED. This committee is under his chairmanship.

The committee will exploit all legal means available. It will do all it can to secure property, finances, and wealth. "We now have a say in things, not to forfeit people's trust again, but so that we can decide for ourselves what will become of our party. We will not allow this to be taken out of our hands. Even if we have to demonstrate here every day until the party congress and afterward, until the matter is cleared up," he said. The committee, Gysi went on, will inform the public about its work.

When asked by journalists how even more comrades could be prevented form escaping responsibility, he took the view that this could only be prevented by the state prosecutor's office and the security authorities. The old party leadership still has only one duty, which is to render its account at the party congress. The committee will prepare the party congress in such a way that a new socialism can be developed to save this country. He is against people further escaping responsibility. In this connection, Gysi rejected resignations from the party in an attempt to escape responsibility.

Membership Announced

LD0312185389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1834 GMT 3 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The Working Committee for the preparation of the extraordinary Socialist Unity Party of Germany Congress is composed of the following members, it was announced this evening:

Heinz Albrecht, Hans-Juergen Audehm, Lothar Bisky, Wolfgang Berghofer, Ellen Brombacher, Roland Claus, Gregor Gysi, Hans-Joachim Hahn, Klaus Hoepcke, Dagmar Huelsenberg, Norbert Kertscher, Dieter Klein, Herbet Kroker, Eva Maleck-Lewy, Bernd Meier, Peter Pechauf, Ulrich Peck, Wolfgang Pohl, Erich Postler, Gerd Schulz, Wolfgang Thiel, Heinz Vietze, Markus Wolf, Roland Woetzel, Brigitte Zimmermann.

It was further announced that the chairman of the working committee is Herbert Kroker. His deputies are Heinz Albrecht, Dieter Klein, and Eva Maleck-lewy. The committee press spokeswoman is Brigitte Zimmermann.

TV Carries Rally Demands

LD0412095189 East Berlin Television Service in German 1839 GMT 3 Dec 89

[Announcer-read report on the "Akutelle Kamera" news bulletin—live]

[Text] [Video shows mass rally in front of Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Committee building] Other speakers demanded that an end be put to all forms of Stalinism and that the social-democratic and socialist ideals of the party be preserved. Besides, calls were launched for the resignation of Egon Krenz as chairman of the GDR State Council and the National Defense Council, too. During the rally, the delegates to the upcoming extraordinary party congress were called upon to assemble in East Berlin's Humboldt University at 1900.

New Chairman Comments

LD0312212189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1915 GMT 3 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—After the conclusion of the first meeting of the working committee for the preparation of the SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] extraordinary party congress, Chairman Herbert Kroker informed press representatives this evening on current developments. He appealed to all SED members and GDR citizens. "The situation in our country requires firm action. It has arisen from the failure of the party leadership, which was forced to resign by the party base; from the inability of the former party leadership to develop a constructive policy for the renewal of socialism; and from its refusal to elucidate the abuse of power on the part of former Politburo members and other officials of our party," he said. In its responsibility for the party and for the country, legitimized by the concern for the future of socialism in the GDR, the working committee, consisting of elected delegates to the extraordinary party congress and other figures, would take up its work immediately for the preparation of this party congress.

Herbert Kroker then announced the names of the 25 committee members and those of the chairman elected at the first meeting, his three deputies, and the press spokeswoman. They would all remain in their present spheres of responsibility. The working committee relied on the resolve of numerous members and candidate members of the party, announced at members' assemblies and delegates conferences, to ensure the general renewal of the party. He directed the request to all comrades to accept their responsibilities in their own spheres. He saw the committee as his obligation to take up existing and future thoughts and indications from citizens of all social spheres, which were directed to the party.

Kroker announced that working groups were being formed for the elaboration of necessary materials for the extraordinary party congress. These would begin their activities on 5 December. A commission headed by Gregor Gysi to investigate violations of the party statute and of the law by former and present SED officials had been formed during the first session of the working committee, and had assumed its work immediately. Kroker emphasized further that the working commission had confidence in Modrow's government, and respected its sovereignty. The committee considered its task to be the preparation of the extraordinary party congress, in order that this new formation of a modern socialist party could be introduced from below. Kroker appealed to all members of the party to actively support the work of the committee.

Committee Member Speaks

LD0312224189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2133 GMT 3 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—"We have decided that we will and must prepare the party congress in such a way that it creates preconditions for the introduction of a reform of our socialist party for the renewal of socialism in this country." This is stated by Markus Wolf, member of the working committee for the preparation of the extraordinary party congress of the SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany], in a television interview Sunday evening.

There now exists the very difficult task of creating, before the congress, generally acceptable bases that the delegates can discuss and decide on. It is important to prepare the congress in such a way that things will not be debated out of existence, but a foundation will be laid with which the party members can enter the coming year with a political platform and also with certain ideas about how modern socialism in the GDR should look in the future. That means that there should be a possibility of submitting certain basic positions to discussion, which then in the preparation of the regular party congress could form the draft of a new party program and possibly of a new statute.

The party, Markus Wolf stresses, plays an important role in the country and, in his opinion, simply must continue to play such a role. Without this party, a renewal of socialism, a socialist alternative [for the] GDR is not possible, in his view.

Markus Wolf gives the interview during a meeting with some 60 Berlin party congress delegates, whom he briefs on the aims, composition and tasks of the committee. The delegates are there at the invitation of the working committee of the kreis [district] executive of this Academy of Sciences to discuss the next tasks to be tackled. We are not an alternative party congress not a fraction within the party, the delegates stress, but we are fighting for the renewal of the whole party.

In reply to a question from a delegate, Markus Wolf says that the subcommittee chaired by Gregor Gysi has already started to implement a number of measures, including measures to ensure that former members of the Politburo and Central Committee department heads had no opportunity without the committee's knowledge of gaining access to documents, locked filing cabinets, computers, etc. Wolf adds that there is a strong feeling in the party and also in the people that everything must be done to prevent the impression being given that anything is still concealed or covered up relating to matters that need to be investigated thoroughly, carefully, cleanly, impeccably, and publicly.

Daily on Resignations

LD0412085489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0401 GMT 4 Dec 89

[Text] [no dateline as received] [NEUES DEUTSCHLAND writes:] Half-heartedness and inconsistency characterized the painful, yet essential self-purification of the party, and the exposure and punishment of those members who had done immeasurable harm both to the party and to the state. No true initiatives emerged from the party leadership to reveal the shameful goings-on without respect of person.

As ever new cases of abuse of office and power were made public, displeasure and anger snowballed among the comrades, and there were mass resignations from the party, the very foundations of which were shaken. To save the party from this situation and to offer it the opportunity of a new start, there was only one possibility left: to force the Central Committee and the Politburo to resign. It is now the responsibility of the former Central Committee to account for the causes of the crisis in the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and in society.

Late, but hopefully not too late, space has been created for a working committee, which is now responsible for the preparation of the party congress in mid-December, which has assumed fateful significance. Thus the initiative has passed to comrades who have more than just the mandate as party congress delegates. As the applause of the rally participants at the naming of the committee members proved, they have something which at this time of new beginning is of particular importance and which can be built upon: trust and credibility.

Investigation of Former Official Begins

LD0112180489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1729 GMT 1 Dec 89

[Text] Erfurt (ADN)—The criminal police of the Erfurt Area [Bezirk] have instituted a preliminary investigation today into the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Committee candidate Politburo member and first secretary of the Erfurt Area Executive, Gerhard Mueller.

A statement given by ADN by the Erfurt Area People's Police says there are extensive findings available that support a suspicion of misuse of trust through the unjustified use of financial means. Investigations, as well as the confiscation of objects, took place in the hunting lodge of Kammerbach not far from Luisenthal.

Prosecutor Seeks Arrest of Party 'Functionaries'

LD0312101289 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 0900 GMT 3 Dec 89

[Text] The GDR State Prosecutor's Office press spokesman told the radio that after carrying out investigations, the state prosecutor has applied for arrest warrants against former state and party functionaries on the basis of the calls raised across the country.

Arrest Warrants Issued for Ex-SED Officials

LD0212175589 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1711 GMT 2 Dec 89

[Text] Suhl (ADN)—ADN learned today from a competent authority that the Bezirk [Area] State Prosecutor's Office in Suhl has instituted a preliminary investigation into Walter Wolf, hitherto combine director of the Suhl publicly owned dwelling construction combine for malversation to the detriment of socialist property in a serious case, and into Hans Albrecht, formerly first secretary of the SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] bezirk executive in Suhl, for incitement to malversation to the detriment of socialist property. Arrest warrants for the two have been requested and issued by the court responsible. In the meantime the arrest warrants have

been implemented. The investigations are being conducted by the Suhl Bezirk State Prosecutor's Office and the investigating authorities of the criminal police division of the People's Police bezirk authorities. Information about the extent of the criminal offenses committed will be given after the proofs have been secured.

Ex-Officials Mittag, Tisch, Mueller Arrested

LD0312101589 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0955 GMT 3 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Based on investigations carried out by the Public Prosecutor's Office, the GDR State Prosecutor's Office yesterday enacted arrest warrants against the former economic secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee [and Politburo member] Guenter Mittag, as well as against the former chairman of the FDGB [Free German Trade Union Federation] [and Politburo member], Harry Tisch. The arrest warrants have been implemented and the two people have been taken into investigative custody. They are accused of having seriously damaged public property and the national economy by abusing their positions.

As emerges further from the statement from the State Prosecutor's Office given to ADN, the former first secretary of the Erfurt SED Area Executive [and candidate Politburo member], Gerhard Mueller, was arrested for the same reasons.

Foreign Trade Official 'Relieved' of Office

LD0312141789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1248 GMT 3 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Alexander Schalck-Golodowski, hitherto state secretary for commercial coordination, contacted lawyer Wolfgang Vogel last night, from a location outside the GDR, and engaged Vogel to represent him.

Government spokesman Wolfgang Vogel announced that Schalck- Golodowski has been immediately relieved of all his offices. The state prosecutor has instituted the appropriate search measures. The government has undertaken all the steps required in order to prevent any attempt to obscure, hush up, or gain access to the sphere of commercial coordination, and to avert damage from the GDR. [as received]

The coordination sphere of Schalck-Golodowski—who even until yesterday had conducted economic negotiations in the FRG to prepare for the next round of talks with Minister Seiters, as well as the meeting with Federal Chancellor Kohl—was to have been gradually disbanded in the next few days within the framework of restructuring in the new Council of Ministers, and was to have been placed under the control of the foreign trade minister.

In past years, Schalck-Golodowski was an established partner for analogous negotiations with FRG representatives, including, it is known, the late Premier Franz-Josef Strauss of Bavaria.

The sphere of commercial coordination was founded in 1967, namely with the objective of obtaining hard currency through international business operations. Recently, 1.4-1.7 billion hard-currency marks were drawn off annually through this sphere from the activities of the enterprises subordinate to it. During the last few years, practices were also used that did not have anything to do with the actual objective. This will be the subject of thorough investigations.

On 28 November, Premier Hans Modrow gave the foreign trade and finance and prices ministers the task of presenting to the GDR Council of Ministers, in accordance with the contents of the government statement, proposals on gradually putting in order the foreign trade enterprises of this sphere, which are necessary for and/or can be used for the implementation of foreign trade tasks, as well as financially putting in order the state budget. The two ministers will present preliminary proposals on this to the GDR Council of Ministers on 7 December.

Schalck Sought

LD0312171489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1616 GMT 3 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The state prosecutor's office has begun a search of all offices of the state secretary in charge of commercial coordination, Alexander Schalck-Golodkowski, who has been relieved from office. Instructions have been issued to search Schalck-Golodkowski's residence. Dieter Plath, deputy spokesman of the GDR General Prosecuting Attorney's Office, told journalists this in Berlin today. He reported that the commercial coordination offices in Berlin's Wallstrasse have been sealed off by the police. The same is true of the living quarters.

Proceedings are being instituted against Schalck-Golodkowski for abuse of office as well as for personal gain and favoritism. The proceedings were instigated after allegations were confirmed in the search of the living quarters of the former state secretary in Collin and in view of information on the construction of three houses in Schldow. Further circumstances are being investigated, which clearly include arms trading and the question of the whereabouts of the money thus acquired.

The investigations involve safeguarding documents and evidence, which must be examined by experts in order to obtain revelations on criminal activities.

The grounds for the arrest warrant against Schalck-Golodkowski also include his connections to Guenter Mittag, just as Mittag's relations with Schalck-Golodkowski were a determining factor in the arrest of

Mittaq. He could not provide more names of people who are under investigation lest they try to escape justice.

In response to journalists' questions on how it happened that Schalck-Golodkowski had been able to flee justice by escaping, Plath explained that the proceedings against him had been instituted only today. The government was informed by lawyer Wolfgang Vogel at 1500 that Schalck-Golodkowski was no longer in the GDR. The State Prosecutor's Office does not know of his whereabouts. Only Prof Vogel, if anyone, can shed light on this, if he has been put in the picture by Schalck-Golodkowski and if he will reveal his information on this.

Faced with journalists' indignation that Schalck- Golodkowski's flight was even possible, Plath said that he acknowledged the criticism as being justified. However, he also pointed out that the State Proseuctor's Office had reached the limits of its capacity in view of the complex proceedings in this and other cases, including the attacks of 7 and 8 October. Help was urgently required, and this could no longer come from the circle of the State Prosecutor's Office. The group investigating these matters is working day and night. The state attorney general therefore submitted the motion of the 11th People's Chamber meeting that a committee of inquiry be formed, since it is not in a position to carry out the necessary inquiries on its own.

Modrow on Schalck

LD0412113489 East Berlin Television Service in German 1840 GMT 3 Dec 89

[Text] The GDR prosecutor enacted arrest warrants today against Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee former Economic Secretary Guenter Mittag and former FDGB [Trade Union Federation] Chairman Harry Tisch. The arrest warrants have been enforced. They are charged with having caused severe damage to the GDR economy through abuse of their former offices. Gerhard Mueller, former first secretary of the Erfurt Area [Bezirk] SED leadership was arrested for the same reasons. A search is still under way for the state secretary in charge of commercial coordination, Alexander Schalck-Golodkowski. From an unknown place outside the GDR, he contacted lawyer Prof Vogel last night to ask him for legal representation.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified reporter] Premier, we are all shocked to hear the news we just received of Mr Schalck having left the country. What are the measures the Council of Ministers will take now?

[Hans Modrow] First, you will understand that the state of shock is not on your part only. It affects me to a much much greater exent, since I also have a responsibility to bear in this respect. I have commissioned the government spokesman to release information on the measures taken—he should have already done so. I launched these measures even before I took notice of this development, because the entire coco-enterprise [commercial coordination] has been the subject of discussion for quite a time. The foreign trade minister had already received instructions to subject the enterprise to his own responsibility, and the minister of finance and wages was ordered to establish conditions for making the relevant aspects in this matter part of her responsibility.

Now this terrible development has happened. Early today, immediately after I was notified of it, the government instituted all measures in order to prevent such a development and such treason from causing damage. For the time being, I can thus say that all this has been done on our part, and that I have asked the state prosecutor to also take the necessary steps on his part.

[Reporter] From what I have seen, however, you also held talks with our country's security forces.

[Modrow] I have pointed out the fact that there is, of course, a need to also draw conclusions under that aspect and to spare no effort to prevent another case of that kind. [end recording]

Lawyers Call for Prosecutor's Resignation

LD0412124789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1148 GMT 4 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Members of the Theory of State and Law Institute [part of the GDR Academy of Sciences] today in Berlin sent to ADN open letters addressed to the People's Chamber president and to the prime minister.

The communication directed to Dr Guenter Maleuda from the Socialist Unity Party of Germany basic organization of the institute reads as follows:

"The legal scientists at the GDR Academy of Sciences demand the immediate resignation of Prosecutor General Wendland. He is not in a position or is unwilling to take effective action against the deep crisis with the legal means and methods at his disposal, with the result of a further loss of the people's confidence in the judiciary. A blameless successor must be appointed, to wage war consistently against crime."

The letter sent by members of the institute to Dr Hans Modrow reads as follows:

"Since the activity to date of the Justice Ministry has made no contribution to the creation of a state based on the rule of law, there is no confidence that the justice minister still in office is in a position to fulfill the current requirements for such state based on the rule of law. The tradition of legally sanctioning departures from the law must be broken. Party membership offers no protection against responsibility."

New Forum Calls for General Strike 6 Dec

LD0112180589 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1648 GMT 1 Dec 89

[Text] Karl-Marx-Stadt (ADN)—The New Forum council of Karl- Marx-Stadt Area [Bezirk] has called a general strike for 6 December. An appeal conveyed to ADN expresses concern about the present state of suspension in which the GDR finds itself—a situation which was used by the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] to consolidate its positions.

The appeal contains several demands addressed to the SED, including the precise separation of party and state, the removal of all parties from enterprises, publication of party finances and property (including abroad) and their return to the population, as well as the return of financial investments to the people. The appeal also calls for the massive reduction of the party apparatus, the immediate abolition of the militant groups, the drastic reduction of the inland share of the Office for National Security, concrete steps for a social market economy, and the immediate introduction of charges and punishment for the misuse of power and for corruption at all levels.

The appeal is also being supported by other opposition groups of this industrial area in Saxony.

Trade Union Opposes

LD0112191489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1653 GMT 1 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Annelis Kimmel, chairwoman of the Free German Trade Union Federation national executive, in connection with the strike call by New Forum in Karl-Marx Stadt Area [Bezirk], has spoken out against such an action.

She said a strike is really the last suitable means to solve outstanding problems. Rather, the upcoming roundtable talks are calculated to overcome conflicts.

The trade union is of the view that all existing opportunities of discussion and common dispute should be exploited before other steps are adopted.

Bohley Opposes Strike Call

LD0112200789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1848 GMT 1 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The artist Baerbel Bohley (New Forum), speaking to a West Berlin radio station on Friday, spoke out against a general strike in the GDR. She thus referred to the appeal by New Forum in Karl-Marx-Stadt, which called for such a strike on 6 December.

The general strike is not supported by Berlin, Baerbel Bohley said. Although she considers the demand justified, measures such as special shifts in redevelopment areas in Leipzig, for which the New Forum has also appealed, are more sensible at the moment.

Call Originated by 1 Man

LD0212130489 Hamburg DPA in German 1221 GMT 2 Dec 89

[Excerpt] According to information from Karl-Marx-Stadt, the background to the strike call is as follows: The call, which became known yesterday, is said to have only originated from one district (Klingenthal) and was put out by only one of the members of the Area Council of Spokesmen, Dr Guenter Bartsch, without consulting the others. This member has now "been given a week's leave" from this function, it says in the new statement.

Among the district's demands, which were to be achieved by the strike, was the "unification of the two German states." The Council of Spokesmen today expressly distanced itself from this demand. [passage omitted]

Statement on Strike

LD0212151689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1420 GMT 2 Dec 89

[Excerpt] Karl-Marx-Stadt (ADN)—The Council of Spokesmen for New Forum in Karl-Marx-Stadt announced at around midday today, in a statement handed to ADN, that the strike called by this body for 6 December will not take place if the demands made in the call are met by this date. Above and beyond this, the Council of Spokesman has distanced itself from the strike demands for the unification of two German states.

The general strike is to be limited to 2 hours, from 1300-1500. As the spokesman, Dr Guenter Bartsch, announced this morning, the health service, energy provision, and rail traffic are to be exempt from the strike. Striking should remain an exception. [passage omitted]

SED Issues Appeal

LD0212201889 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1830 GMT 2 Dec 89

[Text] (Frankfurt (Oder) (ADN)—The Frankfurt (Oder) Kreis [District] Socialist Unity Party of Germany delegate conference has come out against a general strike, in an appeal issued today to all working people in the GDR. The document, which has unanimously adopted by the over-400 delegates, says: "Our people have through mass demonstrations, through other forms of protest, through the founding of new political organizations and parties, introduced the political and economic renewal of socialism in the GDR. [no closing quotation marks as received]

Council Against Strike

LD0212204989 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1954 GMT 2 Dec 89

[Text] Karl-Marx-Stadt (ADN)—The Karl-Marx-Stadt Bezirk [Area] Council has commented today at an

extraordinary session on the call for a general strike made by New Forum. It came out decisively against resolving the political problems addressed in this way. "Mindful of the responsibility for the functioning of the social life in the bezirk, the council turns to all citizens to guarantee the production, the transport of goods and the transporting of people without interruption", it says in a statement.

Part of this was also all the tasks connected with the care of and supplies for the people, the fulfilling of which should not be interrupted for a single hour. It was in the interests of all and, therefore, every individual to work industriously, hard, and honestly each hour. "A strike would disturb appreciably the economic situation and give rise to devastating consequences for the lives, continued existence and the further development of our country", it is emphasized in the statement from the Bezirk Council.

NORDHAUSEN (ADN)

The New Forum in Nordhausen stated to ADN that the planned 2-hour general strike on 7 December in the Nordhausen Kreis had been suspended for the time being after roundtable talks.

Secret Arms Firm Discovered in Rostock

LD0212170289 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1517 GMT 2 Dec 89

[Text] Rostock (ADN)—Residents of the Rostock rural district today unmasked the IMES GMBH in Kavelstorf, which has trade relations with countries in the Middle East, Africa, and South America, as a secret arms-dealing firm. The last overseas consignments were loaded and shipped from Rostock docks at the end of October. More batches of arms and ammunition were standing ready in an enormous corrugated iron shed with a railroad and highway link, and, according to statements by IMES Director General Erhardt Wichert, were to be dispatched in about 2 weeks.

In view of the storing of thousands of full boxes of ammunition, firearms and other military hardware in a manner that mocked all safety standards, residents expressed their outrage at how carelessly such amounts of arms had been piled up right next to residential houses. The IMES GMBH is part of the commercial coordination department under State Secretary Dr Alexander Schalck-Golodowski. The hard currency gained from the arms dealing was paid into this department's accounts at the GDR s Foreign Trade Bank, journalists learned during their visit to the depot. The director general could give no information as to what use the money was put.

The shocked and distressed citizens demanded the enterprise's immediate liquidation.

Trade Official Suspected

LD0312124489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1204 GMT 3 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The press office of the GDR State Prosecutor's Office has given the following statement to ADN:

On 2 December 1989 at 17.30 [local time], a representative from New Forum called on a state prosecutor in Rostock and gave information against the IMES GmbH [company] Kavelstorf enterprise in the Rostock rural district, because there was suspicion of arms dealing. Investigations by the State Prosecutor's Office and the criminal police revealed that handguns, appropriate ammunition, and lorries are stored in the enterprise. The storerooms were sealed last night to safeguard further investigations.

Measures to ascertain the whereabouts of Alexander Schalck-Golodowski [state secretary in Ministry of Foreign Trade] revealed that he conducted economic negotiations in the FRG 2 December and he returned from them to the GDR at about 1500 [local time]. Today at around 0300 [local time] lawyer Prof Wolfgang Vogel reported that Alexander Schalck-Golodowski contacted him from an unknown place outside the GDR and asked him to represent him. A search has been instituted.

Low Flying Prohibited

LD0412132589 Hamburg DPA in German 1255 GMT 4 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (DPA)—The National People's Army has prohibited low flying in the Kavelstorf area near Rostock, where an enormous arsenal of weapons of the IMES Gmbh foreign trade enterprise was discovered this weekend by GDR citizens. Until the stores are cleared, all air traffic within a 5-km radius and a height of 1,200 meters is banned, the GDR Ministry of Defense confirmed today to the ADN news agency. The measures were imposed immediately after the secret arms depot was discovered.

Agriculture Minister Discusses Price Changes

LD0112181689 East Berlin Television Service in German 1434 GMT 1 Dec 89

[Speech by GDR Agriculture Minister Hans Watzek at People's Chamber session in Berlin—live]

[Excerpts] I would like first of all in answering the question [from a trade union deputy on food imports and price changes] to express my thanks to the collectives of the cooperative peasants and peasants in the agricultural producer cooperatives, to the worker' collectives in the agricultural, foodstuffs, and forestry enterprises who have in recent months and weeks done intensive work to fulfill their tasks and, thus, to secure the supply of basic foodstuffs to the population. We are working on the basis that we will be able to maintain this

stability in the production of agricultural products, in their processing, and thus in supplies to the population. [passage omitted]

As regards price changes, it is becoming clear that the whole package of agricultural price changes—the so-called economic rulings—cannot be realized in 1992 in the form now submitted.

This emerges on the basis of the entire discussion about the changes in our country. We are currently examining what immediate measures must be taken in the coming weeks regarding certain price relations, which are at present not in order. I would point to vegetable prices and prices for fatstock with regard to quality parameters. Here we are trying to achieve changes which have been discussed with those involved in practice and with scientists in order to achieve an improved stimulus regarding production and efficiency. [passage omitted]

Bautzen Prisoners Begin Work, Hunger Strike

LD0312112489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1017 GMT 3 Dec 89

[Text] Bautzen (ADN)—This weekend, the prisoners in the Bautzen penal institution began an indefinite work and hunger strike. They are calling for their amnesty, the immediate punishment of members of the former party and state leadership who have been guilty of punishable offenses, and the abolition of Paragraphs 47, 48, 51, and 249 of the Penal Code. A large proportion of those housed in this penal institution, all of whom are there for criminal offenses, already have received amnesty, in 1987, and later reimprisoned.

Representatives from the media and the church—including Suffragan Bishop Georg Weinhold, from the Dresden-Meissen Bishopric; the Catholic priest Josef Kuschnik; and Volker Kress, member of the church assembly from the Saxon regional Evangelical-Lutheran church office—satisfied themselves concerning the tense situation in this institution this weekend, after the management complied with a relevant demand by the strike committee.

To the continued choruses of the prisoners, the clerics called for them to be peaceful, level-headed, and nonviolent. This was assured by the committee spokesman.

During an improvised meeting with the committee, which followed a tour around sections of the prison, further demands were made. They are formulated in a open letter that was handed to press representatives. During the talks, the necessity for creating new legal regulations for the penal system in the GDR was emphasized.

The church representatives, who assessed their admission into the penal institution as a hopeful sign, ended their stay by giving the assurance that they would bring the situation in the institution to the attention of their church executives.

Prisoners' Demands Forwarded to State Council

LD0312094389 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 0900 GMT 3 Dec 89

[Text] The demand by striking prisoners in several penal institutions for an extensive amnesty will be forwarded immediately to the GDR State Council, because only it can make a decision on this. The immediate examination of conditions in the prisons was assured.

Party Daily Defines New Role

LD0412084189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0400 GMT 4 Dec 89

[Text] [no dateline as received] NEUES DEUTSCHLAND will, as of today, appear as the central organ of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] and no longer as the organ of the Central Committee. This is a first decision of the working committee that met yesterday for the preparation of the extraordinary SED party congress. This measure corresponds to the demand, made with increasing frequency over the past few days by many basic organizations within the party, that NEUES DEUTSCHLAND should, in the future, higlight more strongly the views and the opinion-forming process of the party grass roots.

Today's decision is not a step backward, but a step forward. We want to be a stronger forum, in which comrades can promote the unity and the future of the party, in which today's problems, such as a necessary economic reform or questions of the SED's ability to act and the way it sees itself, can be thrashed out, in order to resolve them.

Opposition Spokesman on Cooperation With SED

LD2611110389 Hamburg DPA in German 1021 GMT 26 Nov 89

[Excerpt] Berlin (DPA)—The spokesman for the GDR opposition group Democratic Departure, East Berlin Pastor Rainer Eppelmann, has spoken in favour of cooperation between the opposition and a "changed Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED]." No one political force can lead the GDR out of the crisis, he said in an interview with the BERLINER MORGENPOST (Sunday edition). There are also former [SED] members in Democratic Departure and many will still remain in the SED until the official founding of the Departure as a political party in the GDR. Eppelmann considers all parties, even the SED, capable of fundamental change. [passage omitted]

Republicans Chief Says Party Growing

LD2711114189 Hamburg DPA in German 1053 GMT 27 Nov 89

[Excerpts] Bonn (DPA)—According to Franz Schoenhuber, chairman of the Republicans, several local groups of this right-wing party have already been founded in the GDR. The number of members has risen to 25,000 on

federal territory and in West Berlin and has thus trebled during the year, Schoenhuber said to journalists today in Bonn. [passage omitted]

The top goal for his party remains reunification with Berlin as the capital. "In the final phase" there should be "a nonaligned, even if also armed Germany." Schoenhuber sees the path to this first of all in a confederation of the two German states. If the citizens of the GDR decide on a free vote for their own German state then one must, however, accept it, Schoenhuber said in reply to journalists' questions.

New Forum's Henrich Urges Law Referendum

LD2711114489 Hamburg DPA in German 1017 GMT 27 Nov 89

[Text] Saarbruecken (DPA)—like the LDPD [Liberal Democratic Party of Germany] chairman, Manfred Gerlach, now the co-founder of New Forum, Rolf Henrich, has also proposed that there be a referendum over the new electoral law in the GDR. An electoral law is "now such an important law that it should in any case be discussed right across the population first of all and then a referendum, a 'popular legislation' should be carried out," Henrich said in an interview with Saarland radio today.

Henrich considered a date for elections in the second half of 1990 as conceivable. However, first of all, it is important "for the draft of a new electoral law to be laid on the table so that we can see what kinds of elections they are to be." After free elections the New Forum representative can perfectly well imagine a coalition government with a changed Socialist Unity Party of Germany that is obviously on the move.

The question as to whether New Forum will stand as a party at elections is, according to what Henrich said, still being discussed at present. In its founding appeal the New Forum described itself as a political platform which wants to cooperate with citizens from all social levels and parties, Henrich said. "This in any case excludes New Forum from being a party in this Constitution because that would then mean that party members who work in the New Forum would be virtually excluded." Nevertheless, a large number of the members of the opposition movement consider it meaningful in the present situation to set themselves up as a party in order to take part in competing for the voters' favor in the GDR.

Army Member Confirms Alert on 9 Oct

AU2411150389 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 24 Nov 89 p 4

[Ewald Koenig report: "Honecker's Order To Shoot Was Signed on 9 October"]

[Excerpt] Bonn/East Berlin—[Passage omitted] It is clear today that the GDR only narrowly escaped civil war at the end of its official celebrations on the anniversary of the country's founding. A member of the National People's Army told DIE PRESSE that soldiers were given rubber truncheons and put on the highest alert. "In case of need," they were supposed to support the People's Police and members of the state security police. However, "80 percent of us would have probably refused to do so because we are on the demonstrators' side."

In Leipzig, not only was live ammunition distributed on 9 October, but extra quantities of blood and emergency beds were also prepared in hospitals. Honecker had already signed an order for tough action against the 70,000 demonstrators.

It was not his successor Egon Krenz who prevented the bloodshed, but the director of the Leipzig Gewandhaus Orchestra, Professor Mazur, with officials from the Socialist Unity Party of Germany. Krenz approved the renunciation of violence later by telephone. [passage omitted]

Chamber Apologizes for 1968 Intervention

LD0112190889 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1828 GMT 1 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—On Friday evening, the GDR's People's Chamber adopted a statement to the Federal Assembly and the peoples of the CSSR in which it sincerely regrets and, on behalf of the people of the GDR, asks forgiveness for the GDR's participation in the military actions by states of the Warsaw Pact in connection with the domestic clashes in the CSSR in 1968.

The text of the statement follows:

Mindful of the affirmed will, formulated in the statement by GDR Prime Minister Herr Hans Modrow, and unanimously affirmed by the GDR People's Chamber on 17 November, to create with the comprehensive democratization of our society and its overall renewal new preconditions for an effective foreign policy, which at the same time is based on Article 6 of the GDR Constitution and corresponds to the principles and objectives of the UN Charter, serves socialism, peace, and international understanding, the GDR People's Chamber offers to the Federal Assembly and the peoples of the CSSR its profound respect and expresses its sympathy vis-a-vis the course adopted of a fundamental democratic renewal of society.

The People's Chamber, in agreement with the declaration of intent by our country's citizens, deems it appropriate at this hour to state that it sincerely regrets and, on behalf of the GDR people, asks the CSSR people's forgiveness for the participation of the GDR in military actions of Warsaw Pact states in connection with domestic clashes in the CSSR in August 1968.

The GDR, like her allies in the Warsaw Pact, affirms that she will do everything in her power to ensure that the principles of international law, such as nonintervention,

equality, and sovereignty, as well as the ban on the use of force, attain unqualified validity in international relations.

Commentary on 'Prague Fall' in CSSR

AU0212134089 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 28 Nov 89 p 2

[Frank Grubitzsch commentary: "Start in the 'Prague Fall'"]

[Text] The weekend and the beginning of the week were stormy in Prague. This statement applies above all to the political changes that are now also taking place in the CSSR at such a rapid rate. The old party leadership which resigned on Friday [24 November] was criticized for not having recognized the symptoms of our time. This applies especially to the developments in the neighboring countries, above all the GDR, and their influence on the Czechoslovak public, as Milos Jakes admitted in his last speech as general secretary.

However, there is no denying that the leadership of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] initiated reforms as early as 2 years ago when in the GDR, for example, there was no sign of this. This means in the field of economy: tightening planning, introducing a 2-tier management system, changing over to responsibility and self-financing of the enterprises, and reducing state subsidies. Prerequisites for increased integration of the Czechoslovak economy in the international division of labor were created with the law on joint ventures.

While developing a new status, the CPCZ also initiated far-reaching changes in inner-party life. A limit of 10 years for functions up to the level of the Central Committee and secret election of the leadership indicated the intention to achieve democratic restructuring within the party.

The public showed itself, above all, dissatisfied with the progress of political reforms. In the people's opinion, the development of the new constitution and the laws on the right of association and assembly was too sluggish. On 17 November the inability to react adequately to the demands for free elections, a multiparty government, and the freedom of the press became apparent. The protests developed into daily demonstrations of hundreds of thousands of people. The 2-hour general strike yesterday, Monday, which was observed by many enterprises all over the country, was a profoundly political demonstration for more democracy. Nobody can be surprised that the opposition surrounding "Charter 77," which is now part of the collective movement "Civic Forum," has taken the lead in the actions and is very popular. Now the CPCZ has to face this reality, as new General Secretary Karel Urbanek stated. The government has already held first talks with Civic Forum; another one follows today, Tuesday.

Now the future of the country and the further socialist development in the CSSR are really at stake. Thus, the CPCZ is required to win back the people's confidence that has been lost, and to set the course for really democratic changes with a clear concept. However, there is not much time left. While the CPCZ Central Committee had an extremely heated debate about cadre issues until late in the night at the second extraordinary plenary session on Sunday [26 November], the Civic Forum presented a complete program. This shows that the group has gone beyond the stage of just expressing criticism. However, it is also a program where one looks in vain for the word socialism.

Envoy Addresses Poles on Trade Limitations

LD0212160689 East German ADN International Service in German 1529 GMT 2 Dec 89

[Text] Warsaw (ADN)—In connection with the protests caused among the Polish public by the trade and customs limitations set by the GDR, GDR Ambassador Juergen van Zwoll turned to the population of his host country on Polish television's main news broadcast today. In the speech, which was prereleased to Warsaw's ADN office, the ambassador made it clear that the GDR Government's decision was the consequence of a serious threat to the GDR market that came into being as a result, above all, of internal difficulties. The evaluation of the degree of this threat and the establishment of the degree of the steps aimed against this threat were the concern of his government and had to remain so.

At the same time, Van Zwoll emphasized that the severity of these regulations was something temporary. However, people would have to live with this abnormal state of affairs for a certain time.

In this context, he apologized on behalf of the GDR Government to all Polish citizens who had had trouble during the implementation of these measures. The ambassador recalled the objective of Modrow's government, which was to wish to achieve a new quality in relations with Poland. In spite of the latest measures, there should be no doubt as to the honesty of the GDR Government's plans.

Poland Issues Another Market 'Ultimatum'

LD0212225189 East Berlin Domestic Service in German 2100 GMT 2 Dec 89

[Text] Today, the Polish Government issued another ultimatum calling for the withdrawal of GDR measures to protect its domestic market. Warsaw Foreign Ministry Director General Miernik said that Poland would otherwise possibly have to draw consequences. He spoke of discrimination by the GDR customs and police against Poles, and of an anti-Polish press campaign. Miernik protested sharply against reprisals to which Polish citizens in the GDR are subjected.

The Polish politician was speaking after several days negotiations with GDR Deputy Foreign Minister Ott.

Miernik said the latter had given an assurance that all Poles working in the GDR could make purchases without restriction and be served in restaurants and bars. Ott had rejected a withdrawal of the decision against tourists.

Negotiations Held With Polish Delegation

LD2911182689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1635 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—Delegations from the GDR and Poland began negotiations in Berlin today. [passage omitted]

In an initial session, the GDR and Polish delegations exchanged principled standpoints on the development of bilateral relations between the two states. The two sides concurred in underlining the desire to preserve and develop the achievements and values in relations between the two states and peoples of over 40 years standing. Harry Ott explained the GDR Government's latest measures in connection with travel. He rejected the concern of the Polish side that these measures were one-sidedly directed against Polish citizens.

Boquslaw Miernik expressed support for the process of renewal in the GDR and his understanding for the measures undertaken by the GDR Government. At the same time, he referred to incidents in various spheres as well as prejudices, resentment, and improper treatment vis-a-vis Polish citizens living in the GDR.

The GDR side clearly stated in the negotiations that regrettable infringements of the letter and spirit of the decisions of the GDR Government were involved here. As far as existing agreements and treaties with Poland were concerned, they would be strictly adhered to. The GDR would work for the further development of good-neighborly and friendly relations between the two states and peoples in the spirit of the government statement given by Premier Hans Modrow.

The negotiations between experts of the two sides are to be continued.

Officials Discuss Ties

LD0112181889 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1650 GMT 1 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer today discussed the development between the two states and peoples with Boguslaw Miernick, director-general in the Polish Foreign Ministry.

Fischer reaffirmed the desire of the GDR Government to do everything for the consolidation of the alliance and the ties of friendship between the two states.

Talks Conclude

LD0112213789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1949 GMT 1 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Three-day negotiations between the GDR and the Polish People's Republic ended in Berlin on Friday. Current problems of the development of bilateral relations, among them issues of tourist travel and transit, as well as the frontier and customs services, were discussed.

The delegations were headed by GDR Deputy Foreign Minister Harry Ott and Boguslav Miernik, director-general at the Polish Foreign Ministry.

The two delegations concurred in evaluating highly the significant achievements and values attained in the more than 40 years of relations between the two states and peoples. The will was affirmed to consolidate and develop the friendly and good-neighborly relations between the two countries, and to settle problems amicably. The head of the GDR delegation explained the tourist travel measures, adopted recently by the GDR Government, which corresponded fully to international accords and conventions.

On the same day, GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer discussed with Director-General Miernik the development of the relations between the two states and peoples. Fischer affirmed the will of the GDR Government to do everything for the consolidation of the alliance and of the bonds of friendship between the two states.

Citizens Attack Wives of Soviet Officers

AU0212211789 Hamburg BILD in German 2 Dec 89 pp 1,3

[Unattributed report: "GDR Women Beat Up Russian Women in the Supermarket; GDR Soldiers Remove Soviet Monument"]

[Text] Serious incidents in several GDR cities overshadow relations between Moscow and East Berlin. At the supermarkets of Pasewalk and Fuerstenberg, GDR citizens beat up numerous wives of Soviet officers. The reason was the ban on the sale of foodstuffs and consumer goods to foreigners, which the GDR has imposed recently. However, these stricter conditions do not affect the foreigners who live permanently in the GDR, which means that the ban does not apply to the Soviet families. The GDR women did not share this view.

In the shops, the women attacked each other like furies. The Soviet women were insulted as "Russian bitches," their dresses were torn by GDR women, they had their hair pulled, and they were punched in their noses until they bled. Soviet field police and the GDR People's Police finally intervened to settle the quarrel. About 60,000 families of members of the Soviet military are living in the GDR.

Long Built-Up Hatred Against the Superior Power

The hatred of the superior power, the Soviet Union, that has built up in the GDR for decades also erupted in Bernau (15,000 inhabitants). Soldiers of the National People's Army removed a Russian tank (T-34) from a Soviet monument on the compound of the Leonid Danilyuk School a few days ago. They pulled the heavy tank form the base by means of a tractor.

Because of this incident, Soviet Ambassador Kochemasov called all Soviet military commanders in the GDR to an emergency meeting. He and Army General Snetkov called on the GDR leadership to provide full information on the sales ban to the sales personnel in order to prevent such incidents in the future. In case of need, Soviet troops would be mobilized to ensure the problem-free supply of the Soviet families, the two USSR representatives threatened. In addition, Kochemasov and Snetkov demanded that the destroyed monument in Bernau be immediately restored.

Since yesterday, Soviet customers have again been served by friendly sales personnel.

Deputy Calls for New Resolution on China

LD0112220689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2028 GMT 1 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—A new China resolution by the People's Chamber was called for on Friday [1 Dec] at the 13th session of the GDR parliament by Deputy Richard Wilhelm of the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany. He demanded that the People's Chamber, while affirming friendship with the People's Republic of China, dissociate itself from the resolution on China adopted in the summer of 1989.

The Presidium charged the Foreign Affairs Committee to investigate again the situation at that time and submit the results at the next plenary session. This proposal was accepted with one vote against.

Krenz, Modrow Greet SFRY Leaders on Holiday

AU0212131189 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 29 Nov 89 p 2

[Text] On the occasion of the National Day of the SFRY, Egon Krenz conveyed cordial congratulations to Milan Pancevski, chairman of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, and to Janez Drnovsek, president of the SFRY Presidency.

On the same occasion, Hans Modrow congratulated Ante Markovic, chairman of the SFRY Federal Executive Council.

On the eve of the SFRY National Day, Milan Predojevic, SFRY ambassador to the GDR, gave a reception in Berlin.

Krenz, Modrow Greet Albania on Anniversary

AU0312204389 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 29 Nov 89 p 2

[Text] Egon Krenz and Hans Modrow have sent a telegram to Ramiz Alia, chairman of the Presidium of the National Assembly of the Socialist People's Republic of Albania, and to Council of Ministers Chairman Adil Carcani, expressing cordial congratulations on the 45th anniversary of Albania's liberation from fascism and of the victory of the people's revolution.

Belgium's Eyskens Visits for Talks

LD2911204989 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1154 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Oskar Fischer and Marc Eyskens, the foreign ministers of the GDR and Belgium, have described their first official talks in Berlin this morning to the press as open and constructive. Fischer said that they held talks on international problems, in particular those affecting Europe, and, of course, particular questions of disarmament.

With regard to standpoints where both countries have a geat deal in common, Marc Eyskens advocated the promotion of cooperation in the economy and in environmental protection, and a greater exchange of scientists and engineers. Cooperation between all European countries must be stepped up in a climate of mutual trust and peace.

Talks With CDU Chairman

LD2911205489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1735 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—The foreign ministers of Belgium and the GDR, Oskar Fischer and Marc Eyskens, today described their first official round of talks to the press in Berlin as open and constructive. [passage omitted] On the same day, Marc Eyskens and Lothar de Maiziere, chairman of the Christian Democratic Union [CDU], discussed deepening relations between the GDR's CDU and the Belgian Christian People's Party (CVP). Eyskens has been a CVP member of parliament since 1977. Eyskens also discussed how the CVP could help in training cadres and how exchanges between both parties could be expanded.

The CDU chairman explained his party's position on democratization in the GDR, and stressed that there is a good chance of making this process irreversible. In the exchange of thoughts on topical issues, de Maiziere stressed the policy of a community of treaties and responsibility with the FRG aimed for by the Modrow government, which was supported by the CDU.

In a press release by the CDU, de Maiziere's remark in the talks that there is no alternative to a social order of a socialist determination in the GDR is emphasized. The draft of a new concept of socialism can only be worked out and fulfilled by by consensus. The preparations for

the CDUs' extraordinary party congress make it clear that its members intend to support the GDR's independence as a state in a confederation between the two German states, which is to be aimed for. [passage omitted]

Eyskens Promotes Peace

LD2911210789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1943 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The foreign ministers of the GDR and Belgium spoke this evening in Berlin in support of deepening the dialogue between both countries in the interest of peace in Europe. In toasts during a dinner in the Palais Unter den Linden, Oskar Fischer and Marc Eyskens praised the intensive political contacts and expressed their expectation that relations between the GDR and the Kingdom of Belgium will continue to develop harmoniously.

Minister Fischer stressed that a predictable and constructive GDR foreign policy has new horizons to chart. It is thereby a matter of secure peaceful international cooperation and the creation of optimal international conditions for the comprehensive realization of human rights and basic freedoms, as foreseen by the CSCE process.

A transition should be made from a given partnership based on shared responsibility of both German states for peace and a prosperous climate in Europe to a qualitatively new partnership of treaties under international law. The GDR will increase its efforts for a European peace order and counts on realiable and upright partners.

The GDR and Belgium can do much to help overcome the division of Europe, Fischer said, and added: "We express our readiness for this, with the necessary understanding that no one denies the other the right to exist or questions his borders." The dynamic development of the economic and political integration process taking place in Western Europe is at the same time a challenge and a chance for the GDR.

Minister Eyskens stressed in his toast that political life in the GDR has taken a new and very positive turn. The democratization is positively influencing bilateral relations. Thanks to this democratization and the possible future economic reforms, relations between the GDR and the European Community will also develop. Eyskens expressed the view that the GDR could, by developing market mechanisms and by simplifying administrative mechanisms, interweave its economic relations more closely internationally, and thereby integrate itself better into world trade.

The Belgium foreign minister pointed out that his country and the GDR belong to different military alliances which have actively worked for disarmament, for transparent measures, and control of military establishments and capacities. Freed of the fear of armed conflicts and old mistrust, Europe can find its unity again in a humane and tolerant civilization, "which harmonizes the obligations of economic effectiveness and social justice, intellectual and economic progress, and which developes into a state based on the rule of law corresponding to globally valid demands." He has no doubt that both countries and their inhabitants will cooperate in a positive way with all participants in the CSCE process in a revival of the continent.

News Conference Held

LD2911215189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2005 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—According to Belgian Foreign Minister Marc Eyskens, stable frontiers in Europe are a necessary prerequisite for the processes that are occurring. He expressly rejected a revision of the postwar frontiers. "A demand for the changing of the Oder-Neisse frontier in particular would be irresponsible and have the air of a provocation," he told the press in Berlin today.

Eyskens remarked on FRG Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl's 10-point plan, that such ideas depend of how the two German states see their future. Only the will of the German people in the two states should be expressed on this issue.

In view of the democratic changes in parts of Eastern Europe, Eyskens spoke in favor of "confidence-building measures on the continent." In this he referred to the current disarmament talks in Vienna and the USSR's proposals on reducing existing assymetries in conventional weapons as well as cooperation on nuclear arms control. "I think this represents a final end to the epoch of the cold war and that we could proceed from confrontation to cooperation as a new chapter in history," he stressed.

During his "very interesting talks" with the GDR's Foreign Minister, Oskar Fischer, specific questions of cooperation between the GDR and Belgium on trade and the economy, such as the securing of Belgian investments, were discussed. However, bilateral relations could not be taken out of the Western European context. "At the moment the EEC states are discussing a very far-reaching trade agreement with the GDR."

His contacts also dealt with questions of travel. He had discussed making the obtaining of visas easier with Oskar Fischer. On this, Eyskens had suggested contacts between both countries' travel agencies. However one could not get around the thorny problems of hard currency—people in the GDR should start thinking about a realistic rate of exchange.

Meets LPDP's Gerlach

LD3011182789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1002 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR's chances of a successful reform policy are very good. This view was

expressed to ADN by Belgian Foreign Minister Marc Eyskens on Thursday [30 November], following a talk with Professor Dr Manfred Gerlach, chairman of Liberal Democratic Party of German [LDPD]. He gave as reasons for this, among other things, the industrial traditions and the great human potential. No country is an island. The GDR should also integrate itself more internationally. The guest, who was in the GDR 4 years ago, assessed the great openness in the country as positive. [passage omitted]

Speaks With Krenz

LD3011174289 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1121 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Bilateral questions and the current situation in Europe were at the center of a talk Thursday between GDR State Council Chairman Egon Krenz and Belgian Foreign Minister Marc Eyskens. The reform process introduced in the GDR is of great significance for the further expansion of bilateral relations, Eyskens later told the press. Egon Krenz stated that this process is irreversible. Asked about the 10-point plan of FRG Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl, Eyskens noted that the future of the states depends on the will of the peoples.

The Belgian guest was informed about the manner in which a sovereign socialist republic is being built in the GDR, in the European house, Krenz told the press. Asked about Kohl's 10-point plan, he pointed to the respective interests of the two German states. It is now a question of finding a communality of interests that would also benefit the peoples.

Meets Modrow, Others

LD3011230389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1727 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—The political and economic reforms in the GDR are the basis for new bilateral cooperation as well as for new cooperation between the GDR and the European Community, Belgian Foreign Minister Marc Eyskens told the press today after a meeting with GDR Premier Hans Modrow.

The Belgian guest has been on an official visit in the GDR since Tuesday. On this, the final day of his GDR stay, he also met Egon Krenz, general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Committee and head of state, leaders of other parties and political groups, as well as church dignitaries.

He gained the impression that the will to implement reforms is irreversible, he said after the meeting with the government leader. Eyskens invited the GDR premier and Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer, who took part in the discussion, to pay official visits to Belgium.

Hans Modrow told journalists that he had briefed the Belgian guest about how the policies conceived in the government statement are being implemented. Asked about the contractual partnership with the FRG, the premier said that there is a desire for broad cooperation in politics, the economy, culture, science and technology, and tourism. Contractual situations have to be created for all these spheres. One can envision joint ventures and equity investment for the economic sphere.

On the problem of reunification, Hans Modrow said that he has documented his point of view by signing the "For our country" appeal by leading GDR personalities. [passage omitted]

After talks with Georg Sterzinsky, chairman of the Catholic Berlin Bishops' Conference and bishop of Berlin, the Belgian foreign minister described the reform policies in the GDR as a victory of the spirit. It is a great pleasure for him to be able to state this in the hope that the power of the spirit will increase and political structures will be further formulated that render effective democratic development possible.

After the talks, which lasted about 1 hour, the foreign minister reported to the press that he had spoken to the bishop about the new possibilities that have resulted for the work of the Catholic Church and for all churches. It emerged from this that conditions have improved and that the freedom to practice one's religion has increased greatly.

The Belgian minister also spoke in Berlin to other church representatives, as well as to envoys from new initiative groups and movements. During the exchange of views on Europe's present and future, spokespersons from New Forum, Democratic Departure, Democracy Now, and the Social Democrat Party [SDP] presented their ideas on the democratization introduced in the GDR.

General Superintendent Dr Guenter Krusche, who represented the Evangelical Church in Berlin-Brandenburg, along with the head of the synod, Manfred Becker, spoke in favor of the appeal "For our country," which he had also signed. It is too early to say farewell to the idea of socialism, he said on the controversial reactions that have been made known to him.

SDP press spokesman Steffen Reiche stated that his party will decide on Friday whether it wishes to vote for this appeal, as will New Forum, Democratic Departure, and Democracy Now.

For this evening, the conclusion of the official talks with Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer as well as briefings for the press are on the agenda.

Church Official Asks Kohl Not To Postpone Visit

LD0412093589 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0555 GMT 4 Dec 89

[Text] Hamburg (ADN)—Manfred Stolpe, deputy chairman of the GDR Federation of Evangelical Churches, has urgently asked Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl not to change his travel plans in the face of the events in the GDR.

It would be an enormous disaster for the people in our country, and for the continuation of the development of the relations between the Federal Republic and the GDR, if the chancellor postpones his planned visit to East Berlin on 19 December because of yesterday's events, Stolpe said in today's edition of HAMBURGER ABENDBLATT. The chancellor should know that there was a clear capability to negotiate from the part of the GDR Government.

Democratic Departure Group on Reunification

LD0312152989 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1442 GMT 3 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Democratic Departure, DA, sees in FRG Chancellor Kohl's 10-point plan a "significant contribution to fulfilling its ideas on German policy too." In a press statement handed to ADN today by Andreas H. Apelt, the spokesman for DA's Program Commission, it says: "For us, the situation of two states is due to historical reasons, and for this reason it cannot be permanent. The Germans are called on to take up their right to national self-determination." By its proposal of calling a German national assembly, DA intends to contribute to a peaceful and united Europe.

In a further statement on the appeal "for our country," DA said "that its statement, style, and means of circulating cannot do justice to our pressing problems." In a campaign for signatures, those people who carried out the feared selling out of material, ideal, and moral values for decades exploited the appeal. "We are in favor of a society of solidarity, in which peace and social justice, the freedom of the individual, freedom of movement for all, and the maintenance of the environment are guaranteed. However, we also have the freedom and the responsibility to make our contribution to a nation that will unite in the future. The people's departure toward democracy contains this historic opportunity, which we must not throw away.

Plauen Demonstrators Call for Reunification

LD0212234289 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2201 GMT 2 Dec 89

[Excerpt] Karl-Marx-Stadt (ADN)—Around 15,000 citizens of Plauen (Karl-Marx-Stadt Bezirk [Area]) gathered today for their eighth peaceful demonstration since 7 October. At a subsequent rally outside the Rathaus, spokesmen for New Forum, the SDP [Social Democratic Party] and other groups came out against, what in their view is, the stagnation in the development of democracy in the GDR and the slowness in unmasking the machinations of SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] functionaries.

Emphatically supported was the proposal to hold a warning strike in Plauen on 6 December from 1300 to 1500 from which all enterprises and institutions serving vital functions should be excluded.

There were also speeches and banners giving expression to the wish for the reunification of Germany and a referendum on this question in both German states. [passage omitted]

Potsdam Demonstration Focuses on European Home

LD0212200889 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1847 GMT 2 Dec 89

[Excerpts] Potsdam (ADN)—Today in Potsdam a demonstration was held around the question of the GDR's role in the "common European home." Thousands of citizens came to the Karl-Liebknecht Forum at the invitation of New Forum.

Controversial opinions on reunification were expressed on placards. Detlef Kaminski, of the Potsdam New Forum, proposed a unification of the GDR and the FRG within a demilitarized framework. Otto Schily, SPD [Social Democratic Party] Bundestag deputy, said: "What we are experiencing today is not the defeat of socialism but the victory of democracy. Of course both concepts are under strain, but we should not lose track of the fact that a society has to be social." [passage omitted]

To the accompaniment of whistles and boos, Ute Platzeck, of New Forum, read a letter addressed to Egon Krenz from the kreis [district] delegates' conference of the SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] and the first secretary of the SED Bezirk Executive, Heinz Vietze, who was himself prevented from speaking. The letter conveyed the delegates' withdrawal of confidence in the Politburo.

Genscher Calls for Immediate Aid to GDR

LD0212190489 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1800 GMT 2 Dec 89

[Text] [FRG] Foreign Minister Genscher today called for rapid aid from the FRG for the GDR. The reform process must be supported in this way. At an FDP conference in Celle, he said that the population of the GDR has a claim on aid immediately. The citizens of the FRG must be honestly prepared for this. Genscher said we must not allow the impression to arise that the Socialist Unity Party of Germany has saved us from discharging our national solidarity in the past because of the Wall.

Krenz Receives German Communist Party's Mies

LD2711102589 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1007 GMT 27 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] General Secretary Egon Krenz received in Berlin this morning the DKP [German Communist Party] Chairman Herbert Mies. The conversation is taking place on the SED Central Committee premises.

Krenz, Mies Discuss Ties

LD2711172389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1608 GMT 27 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Egon Krenz today met with DKP [German Communist Party] Chairman Herbert Mies in the SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] Central Committee building for an exchange of views.

The SED Central Committee general secretary expressed his gratitude for the solidarity with the socialist German state and with the SED, announced by the FRG Communists at a time which is crucial for the GDR people. Egon Krenz and Herbert Mies reaffirmed the traditional alliance and cooperation between the SED and the DKP. They advocated the further development of close relations with respect for the sovereignty and equality of the two parties, as well as for their complete autonomy in the elaboration and implementation of policies. Egon Krenz reported on the process of radical change for the renewal of socialism, set in motion in the GDR through a revolutionary people's movement. He also called for a fundamental renewal of the SED. The delegates' conferences taking place currently in the party prove that the SED is developing a new formation in preparation for its extraordinary party congress in December, and is participating offensively and constructively in the struggle for the revolutionary restructuring of society on the basis of its action program.

In this the SED wholeheartedly supports the Modrow government statement, resolved in the People's Chamber, for making socialism more attractive and more valuable for every citizen through comprehensive democratization and far-reaching reforms in politics, the economy, and society.

Referring to the present talks with the FRG Government on the shaping of relations between the GDR and the FRG, Egon Krenz stressed that on the agenda is not reunification, but an increased responsibility on the part of the two German states for peace, for constructive cooperation and good-neighborliness in the interest of a stable European peace. The SED and DKP, the interlocutors stressed, will unerringly endeavor, in accordance with their antifascist legacy, to ensure that war and fascism never again emanate from German soil.

Herbert Mies reported on the preparations for the extraordinary DKP Party Congress in February 1990, which are characterized by the struggle for a Marxist-Leninist renewal of the DKP, and the further development of its policies. The DKP leadership had expressed its view on this in a statement, and would implement a party forum on "the developments in the GDR and the DKP."

Despite the unmistakeable disappointment and even shock on the part of DKP members over the deep crisis in the GDR and the SED, the political change introduced is welcomed and supported. This is linked to the conviction that this policy will have positive implications for the conditions for the struggle of the DKP and of all left-wing and democratic forces in the FRG, as well as for the stabilization of peace in Europe.

Consular Relations Normalized With Chile

LD2411233189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1700 GMT 24 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The governments of the GDR and the Republic of Chile have agreed to normalize their consular relations on the basis of the objectives and principles in Un Charter. This agreement took place yesterday, ADN was informed by the GDR Foreign Ministry today.

The consular representations will carry out their work in agreement with the Vienna convention on consular relations of 1963 and begin their work in the respective capitals as of 1 January 1990.

Nemeth, Nyers Arrive in Moscow 3 Dec

LD0312211489 Budapest MTI in English 1809 GMT 3 Dec 89

[Text] Budapest, December 3 (MTI)—Hungarian Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth and HSP [Hungarian Socialist Party] President Rezso Nyers arrived in Moscow on Sunday [3 December] night.

The Hungarian politicians and other leaders from Warsaw Treaty member states will be briefed on Monday by Mikhail Gorbachev on the results of the Malta Summit between the Soviet Union and the USA.

On Monday, Miklos Nemeth is also to hold talks with Soviet Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov.

Government's Project Proposals Handed to CSSR

LD3011223689 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Text] In Budapest, the Hungarian Government's proposals for the amendment of the interstate contract on the Boes-Nagymaros project have been handed over to the Czechoslovak side.

The Council of Ministers proposes that the [Czechoslovak] water barrage not be run at peak levels, and that the [Hungarian] Nagymaros water barrage be abandoned. If the ecological conditions are created, the Hungarian side is ready to conclude the plans necessary to operate the Boes power station at basic level and will continue construction work near Dunakiliti.

The Hungarian Government commissioner for the Boes-Nagymaros investment said that the hashing out of negotiating principles is going well. Laszlo Udvari has asked several social committees and environmental protection organizations to provide consultations in this matter.

'Particularly Good Chance' Seen for CSSR

AU0212141689 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 27 Nov 89 p 3

[Editorial by Peter Vajda: "Prague Spring, November '89...."]

[Text] Czechoslovak Television can be picked up in a large part of Hungary, and I assume that most of my fellow viewers are mainly used to switching to this channel to watch ice-hockey programs. So far.... Now, however, Prague and Bratislava are reporting on other things, not just ice-hockey matches: 500,000 people on Wenceslas Square, masses of demonstrators in the Slovak capital on the Danube, pictures of Gorbachev, and slogans demanding democratization. We are watching all this with bated breath: This time, the television is a particularly meaningful reflection of life. Who would have believed even 2 weeks ago that we would see Dubchek on television. The leading figure of the Prague Spring has now stepped out for the first time from "second"-ranking publicity into the "first" one, and this carries the message that this spring is continuing more than 20 years after its flowers withered away.

Everything that is happening in Czechoslovakia these days and during these hours—and events are far from at an end—cannot be separated from paraphrasing the well-known declaration: The spectre of reforms is haunting Europe, at least this part of Europe. The Soviet Union, Poland, and Hungary are the pioneers, but they are no longer the only countries where reform has taken root. Now that they have escaped from fear, the masses have acknowledged their power—masses on whose behalf so many speeches have been delivered. Rigid structures developed over past decades are now disintegrating at a time when the word "people's will" is no longer elevated only on the patient printing press, but in everyday life. The people's will is demanding clear and even guaranteed rights contained in adequate laws, and also opportunities for real and active participation in the decisionmaking process. The conditions of various countries (and even of various parts within one country) are extremely varied, historical heritages are different, and so is the people's soul, but the essence of this process is the desire for democratic changes. That is why some leaders had to go—leaders who did not understand the call of our times, who are sticking to the old ways, and who tried to hold back the march of history. That is why Honecker, Zhivkov, and now Jakes had to go. (The last of the Mohicans in Eastern Europe will not remain in power forever either.) Barbed wire, walls, tear gas, and bulldozers are not a means of dealing with a crisis in a civilized world, and history has always presented the bill in the end: The time to pay never fails to arrive. We neighbors welcome with great joy and relief the changes that took place last week, and it was a peaceful weekend! The opposite solution would have led to tragedy!

Not only what disappeared in the CSSR by the weekend is important, but also what has begun. A dialogue has begun with those who demand social renewal and accelerated democratization. A dialogue does not yet give a green light to reforms, but it is impossible to begin on this road without a dialogue. We wish our friends much success—Czechs and Slovaks, as well as Hungarians, who live together with them and who are particularly close to our heart. We wish them success, that is, consistency, patience, and wisdom simultaneously. There are no cast-iron guarantees for anything in history, and we paid a price to learn this lesson; however, Czechoslovakia's democratic traditions provide a particularly good chance for successfully withstanding this great historic test.

Poland's Rakowski Arrives for 1-Day Visit

LD2911223189 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] This is Zdzislaw Uberman reporting from Budapest. Tonight Mieczyslaw Rakowski, Polish United Workers Party Central Committee first secretary, began

a 24-hour visit to Budapest, accompanied by Leszek Miller, Central Committee secretary. Mieczyslaw Rakowski is going to hold talks with Rezso Nyers, chairman of the Hungarian Socialist Party [HSP]. Tomorrow morning he is going to hold talks with members of the HSP leadership. He is also going to meet Hungary's Premier Miklos Nemeth and Karoly Grosz, former general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party, as well as meet a group of Hungarian journalists who deal with Polish issues. Late tomorrow afternoon, Mieczyslaw Rakowski leaves for home aboard a scheduled flight.

Receives Grosz

LD3011171189 Budapest MTI in English 1343 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, November 30 (MTI)—Mieczyslaw Rakowski, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Peasants Party, met Karoly Grosz, head of the congressional preparatory committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, in Budapest Thursday [30 November]. Discussions were held on the position and congressional preparations of the two parties.

Holds News Conference

LD0112035189 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Report by Jozsef Laszlo on news conference by Mieczyslaw Rakowski, Polish United Workers Party first secretary, in the Hungarian Socialist Party Political Committee conference room on 30 November]

[Text] Each step must be taken with great care. This phrase summarizes the thoughts expressed in his Hungarian meetings by Mieczyslaw Rakowski, Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] first secretary. Rakowski notes that the visit was extremely useful in examining what needs to be done to be able to limit losses.

Rakowski arrived in Budapest at the invitation of the Hungarian Socialist Party [HSP]. Not only did he meet [Hungarian] Socialist Party Chairman Rezso Nyers, but he also had breakfast with Karoly Grosz. Rakowski wanted to meet with Grosz to learn his views on the situation in which the Hungarian leftwing finds itself.

During the nearly hour-long conversation with three Hungarian journalists, Rakowski said he will found one party at the PZPR Congress in December. He notes he will not welcome the establishment of several leftwing parties in Poland. He outlined his opinion on the situation in Hungary and said that he believes the new Polish party, basically socialist in character, needs more politics, less ideology, and even less ideological warfare.

Central Committee Secretary Miller, in Rakowski's entourage, said the new party may be created through transformations and notes that hitherto party members will not be asked who wants to join the new party but will be told that each person who does not declare within 3 months that they are leaving the party will remain a member.

At this rather exclusive news conference, held in the HSP Political Committee's conference room and organized by new party spokesman Viktor Polgar—since Emil Kimmel left this post—it was also mentioned that the PZPR currently has a 10 percent rating of social support. In June, when the Senate was elected, the party candidates had won approximately 20 percent of the vote.

Concludes Visit

LD0112035289 Budapest MTI in English 2207 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, November 30 (MTI)—At the end of his brief working visit to Hungary, Mieczyslaw Rakowski, first secretary of the Polish United Workers' Party, left Budapest early Thursday evening.

Mr Rakowski, who arrived in Hungary on Wednesday at the invitation of Rezso Nyers, president of the Hungarian Socialist Party [HSP], held talks with his host on Thursday morning. During their discussions which lasted more than two hours, the politicians informed each other about current home policy issues in their countries, and the situation of their parties.

Speaking about Hungarian political developments, Mr Nyers said that following the referendum, drafting a new political screen-play had become necessary, further evaluation of the results was also needed.

It was not quite clear who actually gained a victory or suffered defeat at Sunday's referendum, Mr Nyers went on, seeing that 15 of the country's 19 counties replied "No" to the first question about whether the president should be elected after the parliamentary elections.

As to the main trends of home policy, Mr Nyers was of the opinion that a genuine change of system was taking place in the country, but the question remained whether this was in the interest of the left or right wing forces.

It also emerged during the discussions that the scale of changes envisaged in Poland was similar to that taking place in Hungary, both from an organisational and political aspect.

The leaders share the opinion that their parties have to reject the political-historic trend set by the third international. Mr Nyers said the HSP was not a communist party, but one along socialist lines. The fact that its goal was the implementation of reforms rather than professing the victory of world revolution in the Leninist sense was proof of this.

Mr Rakowski also met Karoly Grosz, head of the congressional Preparatory Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, with whom he held an exchange on the situation of the two parties, and the

congressional preparations of the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] and the PUWP [Polish United Workers Party].

Pozsgay Arrives in Paris for TV Interview

LD0312214889 Budapest MTI in English 1841 GMT 3 Dec 89

[Text] Paris, December 3 (MTI)—Minister of State Imre Pozsgay arrived in Paris on Sunday at the invitation of Antenne-2, the French state television company, to take part in a one-hour political caleidoscope called "The Hour of Truth" on Monday night.

Mr Pozsgay is to be the first East European politician guest of this programme. Satellite channel TV-5 is to broadcast the forum live for the first time. In addition to well-known French journalists, Mr Pozsgay will also be questioned by Dmitri Yakushkin, the Paris correspondent of "MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI", as well as any willing French TV-viewer—on the telephone.

In the course of his visit, Mr Pozsgay is to meet with several high-ranking French politicians. On Monday, he will be received by Prime Minister Michel Rocard, and on Tuesday he will be meeting Roland Dumas, minister of state for foreign affairs. The Hungarian politician will also have an exchange of views with several leaders of French political parties.

Vice Premier Medgyessy on CEMA, GDR Ties

LD0112130789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1052 GMT 1 Dec 89

[Text] Budapest (ADN)—After Hungarian Premier Miklos Nemeth's proposal of holding a meeting with GDR Prime Minister Hans Modrow, ADN asked the Hungarian Government's view of CEMA. Medgyessy believes that the prospects for cooperation between the two countries are improving with the current changes underway and that they made possible qualitatively new contacts. "One must naturally state that relations with the GDR have proceeded properly so far and that your country is a reliable partner", he told ADN's Budapest correspondent.

"If the GDR intention to apply elements of the market economy is becoming stronger, then this also means that cooperation will develop on a market economy basis. I believe that the two prime ministers thus have a lot to say to each other both in a political and economic sense."

Asked about areas of bilateral cooperation with a promising future, the vice premier said: "In Hungary a market economy is developing, in which it cannot be laid down centrally who will work together in which area. Cooperation is only possible where common interests exist." He mentioned engineering, the chemical industry, and electrical engineering, as well as tourism.

"I place great hopes in an increased interest in forming joint enterprises, including those with third countries of the Far East or Europe. Bilateral relations can however only be preserved and expanded if the system of accounts takes place on a real money basis. The transferable rouble is inappropriate since in practice this is unworkable money."

The negotiations for a labor-force agreement between the GDR and Hungary have, according to the Hungarian vice premier, failed to lead to any results so far. "We would like such an agreement in any case." The basic structural changes which have begun will release labor resources in Hungary and a proportion—especialy skilled workers and engineers—could find employment in the GDR. "We need an international treaty for this which will stipulate the relevant conditions. We would welcome your government approaching this issue more constructively than has been the case so far", said Medgyessy.

It need not necessarily be a contradiction in terms when a country takes part in several forms of integration", said the vice premier with regard to work in CEMA and efforts for stronger involvement in the integration process of West Europe. "If, however, we stress our affiliation to Europe and seek possibilities for real cooperation in the continental framework, taking part in several organizations can be successful and good."

"We must find a new basis for CEMA. In our view that is the market economy. If such efforts in the CEMA region take place, then this integration could be given new strength. The countries belonging to CEMA represent natural markets for one another. Over the years close links have come about. Even if cooperation is unsatisfactory, the countries are in the markets, know the conditions, and have the links. One should not give up such a market. I think that CEMA should be preserved even if it does not at present yield may results. Put on a new footing, it could create a new form of integration in a few years. In the long-run I could envisage the individual forms of integration, such as the EC, EFTA [European Free Trade Association] and CEMA, going over to an overall European integration. But we are a long way off from that."

Nemeth Announces Armed Forces Reductions, Changes

LD0112132289 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 1 Dec 89

[Text] [Announcer] Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth, at the conference of the Hungarian Peoples Army leaders, announced measures of great significance. However, first he spoke about the Soviet-U.S. meeting in Malta.

[Begin Nemeth recording] We trust that in their talks they will seek and find further guarantees to make ideological confrontation avoidable, to push ideological confrontations even further into the background so that the principle of mutually-guaranteed security will be

anchored with further suitable conditions. We consider very important and we welcome the fact that political factors have overtaken military and military-political considerations and factors. in this sense, the establishment of links between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO can be placed on the agenda—bearing in mind the principle of equal security, the gradual reduction and regression. [as heard]

We consider it important and significant that, taking as a point of departure the basic defense security policy doctrine, and its basic principles, within a short time we should ensure, within a short time, a defensive character for the Hungarian Army. This requires that those military armaments and weapons that serve decisively offensive purposes within the Warsaw Treaty and in the Hungarian Army be significantly and proportionately reduced within a short time.

However, I cannot keep silent about the other factor either, which relates to the country's present economic situation and the one which may be expected for the immediate future. This does not make it possible to maintain the Army at its current level—nor in the future at an unchanged level and structure.

The new international situation—making the new security policy concept prevail—demands as well as justifies that we implement further significant Armed Forces reductions. On the other hand, the maintenance of a significantly smaller Army incurs expenses if we want to maintain it at a modern level. I consider it very important that the Hungarian Peoples Army support a peaceful transition and the Hungarian reform process, so that we can reach the stage of free elections as soon as possible. However, it should be done in such a way that this country can stay on its feet, that we can maintain the economy in a workable order; but I could add the political life and society, too. The country must be transformed into a democracy through democratic means.

Currently, and perhaps even more so in the future, it is important that the country possess a national defense capability that provides suitable preparedness for the defense of the borders and that ensures national sovereignty against a potential foreign attack. I would like to emphasize that we intend to give the Army a national character in a way that is fundamentally different from the past. Regretfully there have been numerous historical examples to show that, ignoring this, we have failed on a number of occasions.

I would also like to inform you that at our session yesterday we decided that beyond the already announced 9 percent reduction of the Army staff level, by the end of 1991, we shall implement a further 20-25 percent reduction of the Army; i.e., a total of 30-35 percent reduction by the end of 1991.

I would also like to announce here that in 1991 we shall move from the present 18-month military service to the 12-month military service.

We shall separate governmental administrative work from the direct, military management-direction activities. In the course of this, the state administrative activities of the military branch will be carried out by the defense minister and the ministry, while the military professional management of the People's Army will be carried out under the command of the Hungarian People's Army. We have not and do not consider it rational that the professional-military direction of the Army be carried out by the defense minister in the future in the way he did in the past.

Finally, I would like to say thanks, on behalf of the government, to those generals and officers fulfilling leading posts who—after the Order of the Day—are placed into retirement or who receive posts at other areas. I would like to thank them for the work they have done to date; I wish them good health, and I wish the new ones much success in the execution of their difficult tasks. [end recording]

[Announcer] Tibor Hollauer now gives a list of personnel changes:

[Hollauer] Out of the four departing deputy defense ministers, three—Colonel General Jozsef Pacsek, Lieutenant General Zoltan Szoradi, Major General Lajos Krasznai—have been relieved of their posts. Two of these retire while Lajos Krasznai, who until now had worked as a director of the Main Political Directorate of the Army, starts a military diplomatic career. Major General Ferenc Szombathelyi has been appointed deputy defense minister.

The Council of Ministers has decided to establish the Command of the People's Army, which will carry out the professional management of the defense forces. It is not quite clear to this correspondent what the hierarchical relationship is between the defense minister and the Command of the People's Army commander. According to background information, they will work alongside each other, with the defense minister carrying out political and public law duties.

The Command of the Hungarian People's Army commander is, in the rank of state secretary, going to be Lieutenant General Kalman Lorincz. His deputy will be Lieutenant General Laszlo Borcsics, chief of staff. It is impossible to say to what extent the book by Bokor [on incompetence, frauds, and abuses of power by Army leaders] influenced decisions on personnel or the details of reorganization. Still, the Defense Ministry has completed its report on the book and presented it to the prime minister, who passed it over to the Defense Committee of the National Assembly and to the special parliamentary committee commissioned to examine the affair.

Spokesman on Changes

LD0112220589 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 1 Dec 89

[Text] This afternoon, my colleague Tibor Hollauer attended the defense minister's news briefing, where the personnel changes indicated by the premier were justified in detail.

[Begin recording] [Hollauer] From today on, Colonel Gyorgy Keleti is the Defense Ministry's press spokesman. I congratulate you. Can you tell me how many people, along with you, can be pleased at receiving new appointments?

[Keleti] Properly speaking, all of the employees in the Defense Ministry have ended up in different positions. The ministry has been divided into two. Put more correctly, the Defense Ministry that remains has a relatively small staff, and, apart from these, those who worked here previously will, in the future, constitute the Command of the Hungarian People's Army. Naturally, a healthy upheaval is now under way, and many people from among the troops will end up in the command staff.

Major General Ferenc Szombathelyi has been appointed deputy minister in the Ministry of Defense, the ministry which, according to the new concept, has a small staff. Also today, the Council of Ministers appointed Lieutenant General Laszlo Borsits chief of staff and first deputy commander of the Hungarian People's Army.

The Council of Ministers appointed Lieutenant General Kalman Lorincz to head the command of the Hungarian People's Army; he henceforth will fulfill functions at the level of state secretary.

[Hollauer] Is he subordinate to the existing defense minister?

[Keleti] The Hungarian People's Army commander is immediately subordinate to the president of the Republic, since, according to the new Constitution, the president of the Republic of Hungary is commander in chief of the Armed Forces.

[Hollauer] Is this so at present, too—I mean, Matyas Szuros, the provisional president of Republic, the boss of the Army's commander who was appointed today?

[Keleti] Yes, this is stipulated by the Constitution, which now comes into force. Basically, two deputy ministers retired today; one was the chief of General Staff, the other was the chief of the supply service group. Both left because they have reached retirement age. Apart from this, naturally several will retire at the end of the year. This will be announced in coming days. I imagine that in mid-December, we will perhaps be able to give precise figures on this, since there will be departures from formations, from the ministry, and from various commands.

[Hollauer] Ferenc Szombathelyi said that he is a member of the Hungarian Socialist Party, and the Army's commander said my relationship is one solely of left-wing commitment. Thus, this does not appear to be a political change.

[Keleti] This really is primarily a generational change. The Army's high leadership has reached the age of retirement, naturally after honorable work.

[Hollauer] Does this change not have anything to do with the Bokor book, because public opinion is of the view that a wave of dismissals has begun under its impact.

[Keleti] The Bokor book was published more than 1 month ago. This military leadership has been working for more than 1 and ½ years on the details of this forces' reform. The Bokor book possibly supplied some additional data. However, it is entirely certain that the determining, fundamental idea was raised, that the point of departure originated 1 and ½ years ago, and not from the Bokor book.

[Hollauer] Twelve month military service is to be introduced. How many call-ups will there be until then?

[Keleti] This means that people who are conscripted for 18 months will be called up in February and August of next year. Every transition has a detrimental effect as far as individuals are concerned. We must not make exceptions. We must not accept people backing out through their connections. However, we will give postponements to those who are entitled to receiving a postponement of their service; they will thereby fall into the 12-month category. [end recording]

USSR Reduction Involvement Denied

LD0112220989 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 1 Dec 89

[Excerpt] One day before the Soviet-U.S. meeting, the Hungarian premier announced that our country is reducing its Armed Forces. In response to my question, a Defense Ministry spokesman denied that Budapest might have coordinated this measure with Moscow, although from his words it is not precluded that the Soviet leadership might have known of the Hungarian plans, which perhaps might dovetail with its own arms limitation plans. [passage omitted]

Details of Reductions

LD0112222189 Budapest MTI in English 2106 GMT 1 Dec 89

["Reform of Hungarian Armed Forces—Press Briefing"—MTI headline]

[Text] Budapest, December 1 (MTI)—Hungarian Armed Forces will be reduced by up to 30-35 percent in the coming years, this figure includes the 9 percent staff reductions already announced for this year. National service will be reduced to 12 months from 1991. The activity of the Ministry of Defence and the Military

Directorate of the Army are also to be separated. These are the most important elements of the newly-announced overhaul of the Armed Forces, details of which were publicised at a Friday press conference held in the Ministry of Defence, Budapest.

Colonel General Ferenc Karpati, minister of defence, emphasised that the Armed Forces reform is based on the country's new security policy, and is also connected with the formation of the Warsaw Treaty's military defence doctrine. The reform covers the Army as a whole, and is also connected to the far-reaching social, political and economic changes taking place in Hungary. In addition to the 9 percent reduction in the Armed Forces announced for this year, reductions will rise to 30-35 percent in the next two years, Mr Karpati said, adding that the agenda of the Vienna arms reductions talks includes an even greater extent of reductions than these. Accomplishing the Vienna reductions, though, depends on the successful conclusion of the talks. The minister expressed his hope that other countries of the Warsaw Treaty would follow suit in implementing similar unilateral measures, thereby prompting other NATO countries to do the same in the near future. Hungarian arms reductions extend primarily to assault weapons, such as armoured cars, artillery, missiles, and to a certain extent, aircraft.

Mr Karpati spoke about reducing national service in Hungary to 12 months (instead of the present 18 months) from 1991. At the same time, the period of unarmed military service will be reduced from 24 months to 18 months, while civilian service is to be cut from the present 28 to 22 months. An important element of the reforms is the transformation of the Army's control. In the future, the Ministry of Defence will carry out governing and state administration tasks, providing the necesseary conditions for the operation of the Army. Control over the Army will be exercised by the military command now being formed. After the party law was passed, service regulations also changed, and this meant the Political Directorate also ceased to function. In future, political officers will be replaced by education officers working beside commanders, these will be assigned the task of teaching soldiers about citizens' rights and social policy problems.

Responding to a question, Mr Karpati said it was possible that the commander of the Hungarian People's Army will be directly responsible to the president of the Republic.

Lieutenant General Kalman Lorincz, commander of the Hungarian People's Army, said that under the party law, servicemen may only take part in politics outside their places of service, and then only in civilian clothes.

Concerning the reduction in the number of serving officers, Mr Lorincz said that this will be implemented gradually by 1992. In order to achieve this, on the one hand fewer students will be admitted to military schools, and on the other, early retirement will be made available to those who have served a long time.

Council of Ministers Realigns Army Command

LD0112231189 Budapest MTI in English 2155 GMT 1 Dec 89

[Text] Budapest, December 1 (MTI)—The Hungarian Council of Ministers continued its session on Thursday.

The government held a debate over the proposals submitted for the 1990 central budget and economic programme.

The ministers passed the implementation of the new defence doctrine in the Hungarian People's Army.

Concerning the government decree of November 16 on setting up a supervisory committee for Hungarian Radio and Television, a protest has been filed by some opposition parties and mass media staff calling for the decree to be annulled.

Having studied the comments, the government came to the conclusion that a fundamental change to the original decision was not called for.

At the same time, the government assigned Imre Pozsgay, minister of state, with the task of holding political discussions on the issue of openness and the national media. Mr Pozsgay is due to involve representatives of the various parties, professional organisations and independent experts in the envisaged talks.

During the afternoon press briefing, Government Spokesman Zsolt Bajnok said that the government session was likely to spill over into Saturday.

During the Friday session, decisions were made on personnel issues.

Colonel General Jozsef Pacsek, chief of staff, was relieved of his post as of November 30 with due recognition of his merits owing to his retirement. Lieutenant General Kalman Lorincz was appointed commander of the Hungarian People's Army, Lieutenant general Laszlo Borsics was appointed chief of staff, and Brigadier General Ferenc Szombathelyi was appointed deputy minister of defence, as of December 1.

The government proposed that the interim president of the Republic, Matyas Szuros, relieve Gyula Borics at his own request of the post of state secretary as of December 15 with due recognition of his merits owing to his retirement. Similarly, a request was initiated in the case of Jeno Laszlo, deputy minister of justice, to appoint him to the post of state secretary for justice.

Geza Kilenyi, deputy minister of justice, was relieved of his post as of November 27 owing to his appointment to another important assignment.

Karoly Bav was appointed deputy minister of justice, effective December 16.

Miklos Pulai, deputy minister, vice president of the economic reform committee, was relieved of his office as of December 1, at his own request, with due recognition of his merits, owing to his retirement.

Spokesman Bajnok on Realignment

LD0212044889 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 1 Dec 89

[Interview with Government spokesman Zsolt Bajnok by Attila Nemeth-Miklos on 1 December; place not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Nemeth-Miklos] Now that the functions have been divided within the Defense Ministry, and many high-ranking officers have left their ministerial posts, the question arises as to whether in the near future it can be expected that we will have a civilian defense minister.

[Bajnok] In international practice, it often happens that the defense minister is a civilian. There are also many examples of this in Europe. However, in the Warsaw Pact countries, the Defense Ministry is headed by a military man. At the same time, it cannot be excluded that sometime in the future, we too shall introduce the practice that a civilian head the Defense Ministry—all the more so because one of the main elements of the Armed Forces' reform is that the leadership is divided into two within the portfolio. State administration, military policy, and other activities are being separated. This will be the minister's main sphere of tasks. The range of direct military tasks will be separated, which will be the responsibility and sphere of influence of the People's Army commander.

[Nemeth-Miklos] Public opinion and the profession awaited the decision on the radio and television supervisory committee. We know the government has not changed its November decree.

[Bajnok] It, of course, reviewed in detail the various observations, critical comments. It really did not see a justification for changing its decision. At the same time, it entrusted Minister of State Imre Pozsgay with the negotiations to be held on the question of openness and the national media. One topic of these talks is the establishment of an expert committee to ensure the functioning capacity of the radio and television. The other central subject is the further development of the work of the supervisory committee, its restructuring, supplementing, taking into account the results of the political coordinating talks.

[Nemeth-Miklos] So, not only has this committee, the supervisory committee, not ceased to exist, but another committee is being organized. Is this right?

[Bajnok] Yes, the expert committee is called on to ensure the conditions of actual operations. At the same time, the government has asked the supervisory committee to determine for the next 5-6 month period, the most important tasks that it wishes to solve, and what is also important, that it should make these tasks public, too.

[Nemeth-Miklos] Are there also personnel decisions involved? I ask in light of the fact, for example, that the government at its session today accepted the resignation of the president of Hungarian television, Gyula Bereczky.

[Bajnok] No kind of personnel questions arose in direct connection with this. [passage omitted]

[Nemeth-Miklos] The government of the Hungarian Republic today recognized that the problem of the homeless is a pressing problem in this country. In this connection, they took concrete measures, too.

[Bajnok] In the course of winding up the assets of the Workers' Guard, a prompt and quick possibility opens for two old Workers' Guard Command buildings—one in the 10th district, one in Jozsefvaros—to shortly be put at the disposal of the homeless. To be precise, the one in Jozsefvaros was handed over today for this purpose. One hundred who need it can find shelter there. The other building, in Kobanya, will probably be in a condition to have 150-200 people there within a month.

[Nemeth-Miklos] What about the provinces?

[Bajnok] A similar evaluation is under way in the provinces as to which buildings can be quickly freed up and adapted for this purpose. I cannot give figures.

Budapest HSP Executive Committee Holds Session

Discusses Referendum, HSWP Assets

LD0112154189 Budapest MTI in English 1344 GMT 1 Dec 89

[Text] Budapest, December 1 (MTI)—According to the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [HSP] Budapest executive committee, the referendum has not contributed to the cause of peaceful transition or political stability, and has not solved any vital problems. At the same time, the body expressed its thanks to the people who turned out at the voting and said 'no' to the first question. The standpoint of the executive committee is that it has not been removed from the agenda that it is for the people to decide the person of the president of the Republic.

At the press briefing held on Friday morning on the session of the executive committee, it was stated that the assessment of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [HWSP] assets should accelerate, but the related financial conditions should be provided by the government. The assessment process has already started, and in Budapest it is to be completed by mid-December. The files and documents of the former HSWP are being collected, and will later be transferred to the headquarters of the Budapest committee. It was also announced that a 360-square metre district party facility in Ujpest

had been offered to the Budapest Municipal Council and the Hungarian Red Cross to help the homeless and people in need.

Discusses Party Strategy

LD0212143489 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 2 Dec 89

[Correspondent Miklos Martin-Kovacs reports from the HSP mass aktiv session in Budapest]

[Text] Today the HSP [Hungarian Socialist Party] must be aggressive but decent, capable of tolerance but also of giving political slaps on the face, said Bela Katona, member of the Presidium, speaking on behalf of the Budapest Executive Committee. He added that the 51,000 HSP members are attacked from the left and right, but the party must continue to strive to become a 100,000- strong mass party.

Speaking about the recent referendum, he said that the HSP has to become professional because they can see that they are facing professionals and a lot money, while the HSP is increasingly lacking means and its old business ventures cause it more losses than profits.

In his speech, Imre Pozsgay, minister of state, said that they would like to reach a stage where the HSP no longer has to carry the burdens that its predecessor party shed at its last congress. He hopes that at the congress to reorganize the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party, it will become clear exactly what the party really wants.

Pozsgay Addresses Conference

LD0212174589 Budapest MTI in English 1626 GMT 2 Dec 89

[Text] Budapest. December 2 (MTI)—The Hungarian Socialist Party [HSP], the largest offilcial party with its membership of 51,000, held a conference for its activists in Budapest on Saturday. In his address to the conference, Bela Katona, chairman of the HSP Budapest Executive Committee, spoke about the difficulties in organizing the party, and said it was partly the leadership's fault that the membership experienced the transformation process as an anarchy. In connection with the reorganization of the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party], he expressed the opinion that the forthcoming congress of the new HSWP would hopefully make it clear what policy the organization wanted to pursue, thereby highlighting the differences.

Mr Katona feels that in order to become a party with a large mass support, the HSP should double its membership before the elections. He also stressed that the HSP should define its relations to the other political parties.

Imre Pozsgay, member of the HSP Presidium, stated in his contribution that orthodoxy alone should not be identified with the left wing. It should be admitted, however, that there still might be tens or even hundreds of thousands former comrades who are still deeply convinced that the only right policy is the only pursued by the HSWP. However, the policy of the HSWP which is being reorganized indicates that it is not capable of assessing the situation, so it cannot be considered as a possible ally in action.

Mr Pozsgay then said he saw not one potential ally for the HSP among the current political forces in Hungary. Neither one that could not be a partner in coalition after the elections [sentence as received]. The various party manifestos are singularly similar, and coalitions could be formed after making the responsibilities clear. Yet is by far not certain that this can be achieved already at the first elections.

Further on Conference

LD0212231289 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1830 GMT 2 Dec 89

[Excerpt] [Announcer] If the HSP [Hungarian Socialist Party] really wants to become a mass party, it must double its members by the elections. This was said today at the meeting of HSP activists, where it also was said that it now is the largest registered party, with 51,000 members. Janos Fodor reports:

[Fodor] Those who accept the party, on the basis of the program, have joined. Those who want to decide on the basis of deeds are still waiting, said Bela Katona, who also said that a 10 percent growth in sympathy toward the HSP had been measurable in the past month. The largest registered party has 51,000 members, but more had been expected when the change was decided at the Congress. One reason is that the HSP is constantly attacked from the right and the left, that a new kind of political style has taken shape in which they face parties that are well supplied with professionals and money. It is necessary to adapt to this style. If it is aggressive politicizing which is effective, then they, too, must be able to mete out smacks, and they must be able to stand up to beatings from others. The press as well, said Bela Katona, and the solution, in his view—I quote—it is possible to stand up to the press, which perhaps is somewhat hostile, only by providing events with news value, unquote.

In connection with the elections, it was said that the opposition's undoubted professionalism and enormous amount of money was not enough for them to obtain a decisive advantage; although they [the HSP] had lost regarding the date, they always had said that the people should elect the president of Republic.

In connection with elections: It was said at the aktiv that the holding of another costly referendum, in the matter of the coat-of-arms, was considered to be senseless. Miklos Horn, in connection with the [Budapest] 5th District by-elections, said that they had not wanted to take part in these, not even in a background role, but the opposition hurled [word indistinct], and it had to be taken up. For this reason, the HSP supports independent candidate Peter Balazs; he is not a member of the party.

The most recent reports in this connection: Miklos Gaspar Tamas, candidate of SZDSZ [Alliance of Free Democrats], that is the coalition, has collected approximately 1,400 signatures; Peter Balazs has collected 1,300; more than 750 signatures have been gathered by (Bela Torma), [Patriotic] People's Front chairman [as heard], and by Gyoergy Krasso, representative of the Hungarian October Party—that is they can run in the contest. The fifth competitor, (Rezso Szij), candidate of the People's Party, has not obtained enough signatures, but he was given a deferral until Monday in order to make these good. The contest, by the way, is tough in the 5th district too, said the speaker, and the HSP has decided that in this area, too, an end has come to mincing matters [passage omitted]

Further Reportage on Referendum, Results

'Stalemate of Confusion' Seen

AU0212152889 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 28 Nov 89 p 3

[Editorial by Istvan Tanacs: "Have the People Decided?"]

[Text] We did not yet know the official final result of the referendum on the evening of 27 November, but we did know that the four "yes" votes probably won by a few thousand votes. Whatever the final proportion of the votes, the difference will be rather insignificant. As I hear, the population of a small village or of an apartment block in a residential area could have tipped the balance.

The people have decided, but nobody knows what proportion of people had any idea of what they voted for or against when they said yes or no.

This process must have begun—or rather continued—sometime when, in spite of the loud Hungarian glasnost, the national interest coordination talks were being held behind the scenes in the same way as the meetings of the leadership of the former single party. Few people were aware of which part of the country's future is used as a stake in the game by the many types of organizations sitting around the three-cornered table. It is still not clear who was in what bargaining position around the table, and what compromises were made. It is still not clear for the majority of people whether those who made those compromises had considered them seriously, or had used them only as temporary tactics. Of course, the average citizens hoped that the goal was national reconciliation, and not an endless power struggle at the brink of economic collapse. All of us thought that the prosperity of the 10 and ½ million Hungarians within our borders is, at long last, a common goal, once we are not used as a means only. Perhaps we have been wrong. Such things are not rare nowadays when we are confronted with a series of unusual phenomena.

Political publicity has now emerged for the first time in our mass media. Obviously, the various slogans considerably influenced the outcome of the votes, but perhaps the outcome of the votes was even more influenced by the well-known artists who, through their nightly television appearances, encouraged the people to give the four "yes" votes. Outstanding personalities and truly charismatic leaders or leaders only temporarily considered to be charismatic have always played a great role in this part of the world, in Eastern Europe. There are people in the current political opposition who can forgive neither Janos Kadar nor the Hungarian people for the times when the one-person leader of the party state was able to win himself the affection of the majority of the population. Many people argued against Imre Pozsgay by claiming that, in a true democracy, there is no place for some father figures or figures who represent a national symbol but also have considerable political influence. However, the political publicity built precisely on this citizen sentiment, and not without success. I admit that I was also impressed when the idols of my younger and not so young years—Zsuzsa Koncz, Janos Brody, and Ivan Darvas—appeared on the screen to put every attraction of their personality, the credit of their artistic achievements accumulated over decades, and their personal attraction at the disposal of the initiators of this referendum, even if indirectly, against a man who also tried to build the future, and not the past.

The people have decided. The noble seriousness was touching in which the majority of the eligible voters went to vote with the clear intention of saying "no" to a bad past and sayings "yes" to a better future. One could not vote well in this first referendum, but one could not boycott it with a clear conscience either. The question was put with a cynical intelligence, namely, anyone who wanted to say "yes" to a more European future had to say "no" to national reconciliation. The minimal difference probably reflects the people's uncertainty, rather than the real will of the people.

There will be people who will blow victory trumpets now, and others who will sound the alarm; however, this referendum has brought only a stalemate of confusion. If this is the beginning of the future, how will it go on?

Losers Hold News Conference

LD0212102189 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Text] The losers of the referendum also held a news conference today. Erika Gulyas was there:

[Begin Gulyas recording] In the past weeks, many people described as conservative the parties that have announced a joint news conference concerning the proposal of the Hungarian People's Party, and to express their opinion about the political situation that has evolved following the referendum.

However, according to Agnes Fazekas, executive of the Independent Social Democratic Party, this adjective has no real meaning because three-quarters of the population, by abstaining or voting no, has supported the

principles advocated by these parties, after all. It is no good to say that there are so many conservatives in this country.

The Bajscy Zslinszky Society, the Hungarian Democratic Forum, the Christian Democratic People's Party, the Patriotic People's Front, the Hungarian People's Party, and the Hungarian Socialist Party have called on their members to say no to the question, and now that the opposition has won, they also take a joint stand in saying that at its next session the National Assembly should call a general election for the earliest possible date, for the middle of March.

The narrower party interests of the parliamentary parties also have to be subordinated to this question and a joint stand has to be taken so that the Constitution will be amended. The present six parties, as many have voiced, at the time of trilateral talks already wanted the president of the Republic to be elected by the people, and now they have to fight for this again. The referendum was good for one thing, they said: to exercise democracy.

At the news conference, the question of the committee supervising television and the radio also was discussed. They unanimously consider the operation of this 15-member committee necessary because, in their view, the central media was at the brink of a serious crisis. Laszlo Bogar, the leading secretary of the Patriotic People's Front, who incidentally is a member of this committee, has said it is nonsense to accuse those who take part in the work of this board of multiparty dictatorship.

The opposition roundtable accepted this plan for supervision of the central media, and now this is simply being implemented. This is a political question, not a professional matter, said the participants in the six parties' news conference. [end recording]

Parties Face Results

LD0212055889 Budapest MTI in English 0817 GMT 1 Dec 89

[Text] Budapest, December 1 (MTI)—Andras Toth, administrator of the Hungarian Socialist Party, announced his party is ready to engage in talks with the political parties and organizations about the parliamentary elections.

Laszlo Bogar, acting secretary of the Patriotic People's Front, condemned the "forced and hysterical" referendum campaign, but added that the Front took a stand for participation in the interest of shaping political culture. The outcome of the referendum was only good for making clear the emergence of a political stalemate, he said.

Istvan Csurka, presidential member of the Hungarian Democratic forum, stressed the HDF stands prepared to team up even with its yesterday's opponents to move society to the genuinely free elections as soon as possible.

Social Democratic Party Holds News Conference

LD2911035789 Budapest MTI in English 1539 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, November 28 (MTI)—As reported earlier, on November 24, in a unanimous vote, the council meeting of the Socialist International restored the full membership of the Social Democratic Party of Hungary (SDPH).

On Tuesday, SDPH President Anna Petrasovits and Deputy President Gyorgy Fischer told newsmen that the party's leaders had paid a lightning visit to Rome at the invitation of Bettino Craxi, secretary-general of the Italian Socialist Party, and held inter-party talks with him.

They also met some other members of the Italian Government and held talks on the possibilities of Italian involvement in Hungary's economic development.

Accepting the SDPH back into its fold, the Socialist International stated that an era had come to a definite end in Eastern Europe and now a united Europe had to be built, SDPH leaders said. The Socialist International recognized the SDPH as a political force that would be able to lead the country into a pluralist democracy peacefully. It was announced that Andor Bolcsfoldy, who used to be the leader of Hungarian social democratic emigres, is now coordinating the work of Czech, Bulgarian, Latvian, Lithuanian and Estonian social democrats living abroad.

In Geneva, the SDPH leaders held talks with the leaders of twelve parties belonging to the Socialist International. Ms Petrasovits met Willy Brandt, president of the Socialist International, Gro Harlem Brundtland of Norway, Otto Stich, president of the Swiss Federal Council, and representatives of the Israel Labour Party. The agenda of talks also stretched to economic issues, said Gabor Szilagyi, SDPH foreign affairs secretary and spokesman.

Asked about the SI's eventual reply to the application the Hungarian Socialist Party had made, the SDPH leaders said: The Socialist International will pass a decision at its 1992 congress. The Socialist International practice is that one country is represented by one party. If further parties apply for admission, the Socialist International asks for the opinion of its member Mr Fischer assessed the outcome of veto.

Mr Fischer assessed the outcome of the national referendum as an obvious success, proving that the Hungarian people were not apolitical and disillusioned by policy, but voted confidence to democracy and a change of system.

Ms Petrasovits announced that the Social Democratic Party of Gypsies in Hungary had now joined the four-party coalition. She went on to say that the coalition had proved its viability at the referendum.

The referendum may strengthen cooperation within the progressive democratic opposition. The five parties plan to put up a common candidate at the presidential elections, she said.

SDPH executive Pal Farkas, general secretary of the Social Democratic Party of Gypsies in Hungary, said that the referendum and the party's recruitment drive had convinced him that the gypsies were not yet appropriately informed on politics and not yet aware of the concepts related to the change of system and peaceful transition.

Media Supervisory Board Discussed, Commented

Government To Discuss Board

LD2811235989 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Text] In the past days, there has been a series of protests and petitions in the press against the 15-member committee charged with supervising radio and television. The radio staff and representatives of the association of journalists have also expressed their displeasure. This afternoon, I telephoned the premier's office in order to find out the position of Miklos Nemeth. The premier's colleagues, after consulting with the premier, said: Miklos Nemeth is thoroughly studying the protests, and he is taking them so seriously that he has decided that the problem of establishing the board will be discussed at the Thursday [30 November] government meeting. MTI later reported that the government spokesman was unable to confirm that the topic would figure the day after tomorrow at the meeting of the Council of Ministers. However, he considered the matter to be so topical that he stated that in his view, this would probably be discussed among the verbal agenda points.

Pozsgay Comments Board's Work

LD0212142989 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 2 Dec 89

[Summary] Miklos Martin-Kovacs asked Minister of State Imre Pozsgay about the controversial committee which, following last night's government decision, is to supervise the work of Hungarian radio and television.

[Begin recording] [Martin-Kovacs] The government decided to complement the media committee with expert committee and other, yet-to-be-negotiated bodies, a decision that appears to be a sign of confusion.

[Pozsgay] "I consider this a very difficult task, but in one respect the government has not retreated: A supervisory committee, building on parties and social organizations, must guarantee the impartiality of radio and television work. At the same time, it has admitted—and it signaled this by resuming the negotiation process—that the comments voiced must be considered and weighed anew. In other words, the government decision is not absolute and exclusive, but is intended to pay special attention both to the comments of the profession and to the opinion of those parties that so far have disagreed." [end recording]

Cooperatives' National Council To Meet 10 Dec

LD2711214589 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 27 Nov 89

[Text] [Announcer] The National Council of Producing Cooperatives is to hold an out-of-turn congress 10 December. This was announced today at a news conference. The reporter is Zsuzsa Vajde:

[Begin Vajda recording] The most urgent question of the day is: Who does the land belong to? So far, the owner and the employee have been as one in the cooperatives. If these are now to be separated, how? It is not at all the same question how this process is going to take place. The tax and regulating system and politics have to answer this shortly because if a reply is left to the producers, they might say no, which means that they will refuse to produce to make losses.

Here is some data to prove that it is not just a threat: From 1981 until now, income deductions have increased 25 times through taxes and regulators. The price of industrial materials has increased 50 percent.

Cooperative experts are saying that it is not only the cooperatives and the idea of cooperatives which is in crisis, but also Hungarian agriculture, and it is this which has to be put right first of all. They consider that from the beginning of the year, the stands of parties and other organizations have come closer to each other. There is going to be a need for strong and resolute interest representation organizations. Thus the producers, private farmers, members of reform circles, and cooperatives will also come nearer to each other. [end recording]

Reportage of Israel's Peres' Visit, Meetings

Interviewed on Eve of Visit

LD2711105889 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0730 GMT 27 Nov 89

[Text] RZECZPOSPOLITA today interviews Shimon Peres, Israeli deputy premier and minister of finance, who is beginning a visit of several days to our state. Today I am very happy that I can come from an independent and sovereign Israeli state and be received by the Polish authorities, meet members of Polish society and Jews who are part of it, and once again relive my childhood memories which live within me to this day, Shimon Peres said, among other things. Today we are living in a world in which economics is more important than strategy. The new world is built more on the basis of economic cooperation than on military confrontation. This also finds expression in Israel's relations with other states, including in her bilateral relations with Poland. I am sure that the true beginning of the promotion of economic links between our two states will be achieved. We pray for the triumph of the spirit of reform and liberty which has encompassed Poland today, reform without the shedding of blood. All the bells of Jerusalem are ringing in honor of the triumph of freedom. The changes taking place in Central Europe today are great and magnificent. They fill our hearts with pride; pride in the fact that the individual can take his fate into his own hands and change his own situation as well as that of his people, said Shimon Peres, Israeli deputy premier and finance minister, in an interview with RZECZPOSPOLITA.

Begins Warsaw Visit

LD2711121589 Warsaw PAP in English 1124 GMT 27 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 27—Israeli Vice-Premier and Minister of Finance Shimon Peres started his official visit to Poland.

Report on Start of Visit

TA2711122089 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1105 GMT 27 Nov 89

[Text] the Vice Prime Minister has arrived in Warsaw for the first high-level official visit since the severance of diplomatic ties between the two countries in 1968. This morning Shim'on Peres held talks with the Polish foreign minister and his aides. The Polish minister told DAVAR reporter Gid'on Kouts that diplomatic ties between Israel and Poland will be resumed next year. Let us hear Gid'on Kouts' report:

At 1000 sharp, the El Al plane carrying Vice Prime Minister Peres landed in snow-covered Warsaw. Yet the sun was shining on an excited Shim'on Peres, who was on his first visit to the country of his birth—although he can no longer speak its language. He spoke with his host, Deputy Foreign Minister Jan Majewski, in English. He then issued a brief statement to Polish television, before leaving in his motorcade for the official guest residence, which will be the vice prime minister's headquarters for the duration of his tour.

In the Foreign Ministry, Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski was already waiting for Peres. Several minutes before that, he apprised me of the good tidings he had to present to his first official Israeli guest in 22 years: Diplomatic ties between Israel and Poland will be resumed early next year.

Deputy Minister Jan Majewski told me that in the course of the meetings, Poland will offer government-level bilateral agreements, which cannot exist in the absence of diplomatic relations. The two foreign ministers will sign these agreements in Warsaw. Majewski explained the delay in the resumption of ties to date as stemming from pressure from Arab countries. Only 2 days ago, the Libyan deputy foreign minister visited Poland. He expressed dismay over Poland's intention of renewing ties with Israel.

The Poles have interests worth billions in the Arab countries. There are 6,000 Polish workers in Libya alone. We had an easier time even with South Korea, sighed Deputy Minister Majewski. That was because we only had to contend with North Korea. Nevertheless, Poland regards the resumption of ties with Israel as a historic and moral issue, not merely a case of economic profitability.

Peres will lunch with the foreign minister, and early this afternoon he will be seen by Polish President Jaruzelski at Belevedere Palace.

Views 'New Page' in Relations

LD2711142389 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1300 GMT 27 Nov 89

[Text] I have come here to open a new page in the history of Polish-Jewish relations, which go back a long way, and I am hopeful of good political and economic cooperation between Poland and Israel in the future, stated Israel's Deputy Prime Minister Shimon Peres, after landing in Warsaw. The 66-year-old Peres, who was born in Volozhin, currently in Soviet territory, will conduct talks with President Wojciech Jaruzelski, Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki, Lech Walesa, and Mieczyslaw Rakowski during his 4-day visit.

Daily Interviews Peres

LD2711141989 Warsaw PAP in English 1243 GMT 27 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 27—In his interview for the GAZETA WYBORCZA paper Israeli Vice-Premier Shim'on Peres made some remarks on selected problems.

As for Shamir's statement to the effect that Poles suck in anti-semitism with their mother's milk, Peres said: "It is

nonsense, I do not approve of such generalizations. There are Poles and Poles, there are Germans and Germans, there are Israelis and Israelis. We, the Jews, who had suffered most for alleged sins and national traits, should avoid making such generalizing evaluations."

As regards Poles, Peres stated: "I feel friendliness towards them. They have been passing through a difficult, painful time. There were various periods in the history of the Polish and the Jewish nations but we must not forget that for a millenium Jews lived in Poland like at home, We had a flourishing Jewish and Hebraic culture, independent schools, educational system, and communities on Polish land. One cannot erase this."

As concerns solidarity, Peres said: "Walesa led it wisely, resolutely and with a great amount of self-restraint. Solidarity achieved its goals without bloodshed, one more proof that there is no such a thing as a crystallised national character. The nation changes, people change."

Holds Talks With Skubiszewski

LD2711152689 Warsaw PAP in English 1351 GMT 27 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 27—Israeli Vice-Premier and Minister of Finance Shim'on Peres now on an official visit to Poland met with Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski here today.

Polish-Israeli plenary talks were held in the Foreign Ministry office.

Comments on Relations

LD2211224289 Warsaw PAP in English 2014 GMT 27 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 27—"I did not come to Poland to sign any agreements but to open a new chapter in our relations," stated Israeli vice premier, Finance Minister Shim'on Peres at the start of his official visit to Poland today.

He added that relations between Poles and Jews had a long history and were close and very meaningful. "At present I believe that Poland and Israel can cooperate politically and economically for the better future of both nations," he stated.

The first point of the visit were Polish-Israeli plenary talks presided over by Poland's Foreign Affairs Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski and Shim'on Peres.

The spokesman of the Polish Foreign Ministry, Stefan Staniszewski told PAP that the talks mainly focused on bilateral issues. Skubiszewski told his guest that Mazowiecki's government was considering a resumption of diplomatic relations with Israel in the not too distant future. Peres received this with big satisfaction, at the same time welcoming the changes taking place in Poland and expressing support for them. The two also touched upon economic cooperation.

The Polish side invited the Israeli side to participate in the expansion of the hotel and catering sector in Poland. The Israeli side expressed interest in this offer owing to the fact that 0.5 million residents of Israel come from Poland or have ties with it. The need to protect common cultural heritage and remnants of Jewish culture in Poland was given special attention during the talks.

During talks on international issues, the sides attached much attention to the so-called Baker Middle East Plan, stating that there were chances of a peaceful resolution of the longstanding conflict.

Meeting With Balcerowicz

The state and prospects for Polish-Israeli cooperation in economy and trade were discussed at a meeting of Vice-Premier and Finance Minister Leszek Balcerowicz and his Israeli counterpart Shim'on Peres.

They assessed positively the trade exchange through the turnover is to reach only 40 million dollars this year. Of late, the size of the turnover has doubled every year and there are many possibilities to increase it, which was stressed by representatives of Polish economic ministries. This concerns co-production of the common-use equipment, electro-medical equipment and cooperation in the packing and light industries, agriculture, food processing, animal production, transport and telecommunication and the hotel business. The expansion of bilateral economic contacts is however determined above all by the normalization of financial and credit relations.

We are interested, Balcerowicz said, in signing a few interstate agreements, including the one on investments protection, on avoiding double taxation, on trade payments. We also confirm our interest in the inflow of foreign capital.

Generally, we are optimistic about cooperation with Poland, Vice- Premier Peres said. He saw no difficulties in signing the first three agreements. He confirmed his sides interest in developing cooperation in the majority of the mentioned areas and said he would ask a group of businessmen to come to Poland to discuss the details. We must build our relations while seeking long-term profits, that is why we must do it on the basis of high technologies, he said.

Meeting With Rakowski

Today, first secretary of the Polish United Workers' Party (PUWP) CC Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski met with leader of the Israeli Labour Party and Vice-President of the Socialist International Shim'on Peres. They briefed each other on the activities of their parties. In line with earlier consultations. They resolved to establish direct contacts and cooperation between their parties. A PUWP CC delegation is to go to Israel in the coming days.

The sides also discussed the prospects for development of relations between PUWP and the socialist international in the light of the recent meeting of the latter's council.

In the evening, the PUWP CC first secretary hosted Shim'on Peres and the accompanying persons to dinner.

In the wake of the talks at the PUWP CC, Peres told newsmen that Rakowski presented a deepened analysis of the transformations going on in Poland and expectations of society. I am impressed by the openness and honesty of his statements, he said.

I think that the issues touched upon by Rakowski concern not only Polish society but also all of us, they concern the problem where we are going and how we are going to act. We also pondered over the question of bilateral relations, inter-governmental and inter-party cooperation, he added.

I am glad that my guest was satisfied with what I had said about the political and economic situation in Poland, Rakowski said, and mainly with how I see the party today and tomorrow, at the coming congress.

Received by Jaruzelski

LD2711224889 Warsaw PAP in English 2057 GMT 27 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 27—Polish president Wojciech Jaruzelski received here today Israeli Vice-Premier and Finance Minister Shim'on Peres who is now paying a visit to Poland.

In the talks, they assessed the current state of bilateral relations. They pointed to possibilities to expand cooperation between the two countries, and mainly in the economy and finances.

Shim'on Peres presented a stand of the Israeli Government and the Labour Party he heads as to the settlement of the Middle East conflict and bringing about peace in this region.

Wojciech Jaruzelski briefed Peres on the transformations now going on in Poland and this country's activities at the international arena. In this context, he pointed to Poland's support for the efforts made to peacefully settle the Middle East conflict on the basis of respecting the rights of the Palestinian nation to self-determination and the rights to safe existence and development of Israel and all other states of this region.

Both sides came out in favour of normalization of relations and mutually profitable cooperation between Poland and Israel on the basis of good traditions of the many-century co-existence of the two nations.

The meeting was attended by Minister of State Jozef Czyrek and Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski. Present was head of Israel's interest section in Warsaw Mordechai Palzur.

Jerusalem Radio Report

TA2711181589 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1705 GMT 27 Nov 89

[Telephone report from Warsaw by Gid'on Kouts—recorded]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Polish President Wojciech Jaruzelski welcomed Minister Shim'on Peres at Belvedere Palace, and the delegations proceeded to sit opposite each other around the table.

We want to normalize bilateral relations and we want you to feel warm here despite the cold weather outside, Jaruzelski told Peres, and your visit will pave the way to normalization. Peres lauded today's Poland as being an international message. The meeting was held on an emotional and personal tone, but political issues were also raised.

Jaruzelski said that Poland advocates secure borders for Israel, but also supports the notion of self-determination for the Palestinians. He voiced anxiety over the reunification of the two Germanys which, even if it is not formal, could lead to dangerous developments.

Statements for TRYBUNA LUDU

AU0312182589 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 28 Nov 89 p 2

[Statements by Shim'on Peres, Israeli vice prime minister and minister of finance, and Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, first secretary of the Polish United Workers Party, to TRYBUNA LUDU in Warsaw on 27 November]

[Text] Following Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski's meeting with Shim'on Peres, the two politicians issued statements to a TRYBUNA LUDU journalist.

Peres: Mr Rakowski presented us with a broad in-depth analysis of the transformations taking place in Poland. He spoke about Polish society's expectations. I am deeply moved by the openness and frankness of his statements.

I think that the subject matter presented by Mr Rakowski about where we are heading and how we intend to solve our problems concerns not just Polish society, but all of us. This was an interesting 1-hour meeting.

I am very pleased. I encountered a warm, friendly reception everywhere. My interlocutors and I considered the question of bilateral relations and intergovernmental and interparty cooperation. We are all learning because we live in different worlds. If we do not change, the world will change us.

Rakowski: I agree, especially with the guest's last sentence. It is up to our guest to assess our meeting. If he is

satisfied with what I said about the political and economic situation in Poland and with the way I see the party today and after the forthcoming congress, then I too am pleased.

I got to know Mr Peres in Bonn during Willy Brandt's 75th birthday celebration. Mr Peres really is interested in what is happening inside our party, and asked concrete questions. In a word, he is an interesting interlocutor.

Announces Decision on Relations

LD2811110589 Warsaw PAP in English 0134 GMT 28 Nov 89

["Press Review"—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 28—The conclusion of the Soviet visit by Polish Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki makes the leading headlines in the Warsaw dailies today. Commenting on a visit, the GAZETA WYBORCZA Solidarity prints in bold-face type what the premier said at a meeting with Leningrad intellectuals on Monday: "What we need is the success of your transformations. What you need is the success of our transformations." The papers also carry a joint Polish-Soviet communique issued after the visit.

Another important visit extensively commented on by the press is the one paid to Poland by Israeli Vice-Premier and Finance Minister Shim'on Peres. In an article headlined "There Will Be An Embassy". GAZETA WYBORCZA quotes Peres as saying that (Polish Foreign Minster) Skubiszewski announced that the Polish side had already made the decision to resume the (Polish-Israeli) relations in the the first quarter of 1990.

The same paper describes the 11th Congress of the United Peasant Party, which closed today with changing the party's name into the Polish Peasant Party-Rebirth (PSL-Odrodzenie), as one of wasted chances which "neither called anybody to account nor changed anything," as one of its participants put it.

Foreign desks' dispatches speak today about the latest developments in Czechoslovakia where a general strike was announced. The press brings reports from the GDR where drastic moves were initiated against Polish tourists who allegedly buy up goods at the East German market.

In an interview for the ZYCIE WARSZAWY daily, Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski named the maintaining of good relations with the USSR and Poland's other neighbours as one of top priorities of this country's foreign policy.

Holds Talks With Mazowiecki

TA2811200689 Jerusalem Television Service in Hebrew 1900 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Excerpt] Vice Prime Minister Shim'on Peres conferred with Polish Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki in Warsaw today. The two conducted a hearty conversation, and Mazowiecki accepted Mr Peres' invitation to visit Israel. This morning, Shim'on Peres toured the Jewish cemetery in Warsaw and laid wreaths at the memorials for the Holocaust victims. Our correspondent Yig'al Rom reports from Warsaw:

[Begin Rom recording] The vice prime minister's 2d day in Warsaw began with the laying of a wreath at the Warsaw Ghetto site in the heart of the city. The rabbi of Warsaw recited the prayer for the souls of the dead. After that brief ceremony, Peres laid another wreath at the memorial erected at the site that was the departure point from where the 300,000 residents of the ghetto were transported to the extermination camps. A visit to the Jewish cemetery followed.

The official part of the visit was devoted to a meeting with Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki. This is Mazowiecki's first political meeting after his return from a historic state visit to Moscow. Part of the conversation was devoted to Mazowiecki's visit to Moscow as well as the question of the reunification of Germany—which is worrying both Israel and Poland—and, of course, the resumption of relations with Israel and ways in which Israel could assist Poland. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Statements After Talks

LD2911000789 Warsaw PAP in English 2140 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 28—Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki today received Israeli Vice-Premier and Minister of Finances Shimon Peres.

After the talk, Mazowiecki answered questions by newsmen. Excerpts:

Q: How do you assess the meeting with Vice-Premier Peres?

A: Our talk was frank and very profound. We refered to the history of Polish-Jewish relations and to our spiritual roots.

Q: Did you discuss Germany's re-unification?

A: We touched upon the question but both of us seem to believe that it is not a problem for today.

Q: How do you see the Israeli-Polish relations in the near future?

A: As I perceive it, the diplomatic relations ought to be restored.

Q: Has any specific date been mentioned?

A: Be patient, in a short time.

Q: Do you intend to pay a visit to Israel?

A: Mr Peres invited me and I answered that I would like very much to come in Israel for many a reason. It is the

holy land and the cradle of our common spiritual roots. The contemporary state of Israel does interest me very much as well.

Vice-Premier Peres told newsmen that they agreed that economic cooperation is currently more important than other areas like diplomacy and strategy.

The Israeli vice-premier shared the opinion that Poland and Israel can cooperate closely and in a friendly manner and added he told the Polish prime minister that they expected Poland's success for Poland today is not only a country but also a message. "That is why we all would like to see Poland succeed," he said.

Also on Tuesday, Peres paid tribute to the heroes of Warsaw laying flowers at the Nike Monument. Later on, he laid a wreath at the monument to the heroes of the Warsaw Jewish ghetto and at the place where Mordechaj Anielewicz and a group of Jewish fighters died.

He also went to Umschlagplatz from where Germans transported over 300,000 ghetto residents to death camps in the years 1942-1943.

Vice-Premier Peres visited the Jewish cemetery and went to the Warsaw Synagogue where he met with representatives of the Jewish community.

Shimon Peres also toured the old town in Warsaw.

The press office of the Solidarity leader announced today that the meeting of Lech Walesa and Shimon Peres, scheduled for November 28, will be held on November 29 because of the bad weather conditions which prevented the latter from travelling to Gdansk.

In the evening, Shimon Peres and the accompanying persons arrived in Cracow and went straight to the Remuh Synagogue in the Szeroka Street. They also visited the near-by Jewish cemetary, one of the oldest in this country.

Mazowiecki Expects Relations 'Soon'

TA2811203489 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 2000 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Text] The Polish prime minister declared that diplomatic relations with Israel will be resumed soon. Tadeusz Mazowiecki conferred with Vice Prime Minister Shim'on Peres in Warsaw this evening. He asked Israel to support Poland in international financial bodies. Prime Minister Mazowiecki responded indirectly to remarks made by Prime Minister Shamir about anti-Semitism in Poland, saying that although there are such expressions occasionally, his government will not accept them. At the same time, he said that he hopes that in the future, Poland will not be subjected to generalized accusations.

Our correspondent Gid'on Kouts reports that Shim'on Peres' scheduled visit to Gdansk was canceled due to bad weather. He will therefore confer with Lech Walesa in Warsaw tomorrow.

Minister Peres laid wreaths at the memorials for the victims of the Warsaw Ghetto uprising and the Holocaust victims, and met with representatives of the local Jewish community.

Camps Visited; Talks With Walesa

TA2911184089 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1705 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] Shim'on Peres, vice prime minister and finance minister, toured the Auschwitz and Birkenau camp sites in Poland today. This afternoon he conferred with Solidarity leader Lech Walesa in his residence in Warsaw. Gid'on Kouts reports:

In extreme cold, Shim'on Peres and his entourage left this morning for a tour of the snowed-in sites of the Auschwitz and Birkenau extermination camps. In the Jewish barracks in Auschwitz, Peres recited the kaddish, and laid a wreath near the Wall of Death, where tens of thousands of Jews and non-Jews were shot to death.

Between the two sites, adjacent to the Auschwitz camp wall, stands the immense wooden cross of the Carmelite convent, which has cast its shadow on relations between Jews and Christians in Europe. I raised the problem, and a Polish Government official promised me that the convent will be relocated. This blemish is an eyesore in one of the most sensitive places in the history of our nation and all of humanity, and I hope it will be removed, Shim'on Peres said.

Peres then returned to Warsaw on board a military aircraft for a meeting with Solidarity leader Lech Walesa. Lech Walesa and Shim'on Peres each downed four shots of vodka, and the chemistry between them was established instantaneously. I liked Peres; we talked like two Poles, said Walesa after the meeting. Rather like two Israelis, Peres corrected him. This is exactly what I meant to say, said Walesa. At one time, two nations existed here: the Jewish people and the Polish people. The war eliminated the Jewish people, and since then the situation here has worsened. Your presence is sorely missed. These two nations paid the highest and most painful price: first and foremost the Jews, and then, in second place, the Poles. Let us not play any more games; we have already paid too dearly. We must not fight. When two nations coexist, both good and bad things happen.

And when will we see the Solidarity leader in Israel? I thanked Mr Peres for the invitation he conveyed to me. If Israel wants Walesa to come, he will.

[Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew at 1800 GMT on 29 November also reports on Vice Prime Minister Shim'on Peres' visit in Poland, adding that "Walesa warned against the reunification of Germany, saying: They must not be allowed again to destroy Europe."]

Peres on East Bloc Changes

TA2911194389 Jerusalem Television Service in Hebrew 1900 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Interview with Vice Prime Minister Shim'on Peres by Yig'al Rom outside the Birkenau concentration camp on 29 November—recorded]

[Text] [Peres] This room, containing the hair of men and women, is like a journey to the netherworld, a journey to the heart of the Holocaust. Half our people were killed here, and the remaining half will always bear this burden.

[Rom] Is this the proper place to sum up the visit to Poland?

[Peres] I would say that this is the appropriate place to begin the trip to Poland, as a gesture to our people. Present-day Poland is undergoing a great change. In fact, a huge farewell party is being thrown here for the world that was, and apparently a new chapter is beginning insofar as East Europe and the USSR are concerned—and also in terms of world attitudes toward weapons and the need for them.

[Rom] Where do we fit in in this general change?

[Peres] First of all, Poland is positioned in the eye of this immense storm. We fit in because it has immediate implications for us as well. If indeed the conflict and the competition between the two large superpowers ends, it will be felt instantly in the Middle East as well. If the Soviet Union is disengaging itself from Poland, Hungary, and East Germany, why should it remain in Syria, Libya, and Ethiopia? If there is less superpower involvement in the Middle East and a smaller quantity of weapons, the chances for peace will increase.

Peres Hospitalized in Poland

TA3011053989 Jerusalem Domestic Service in English 0500 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Text] Vice Premier Shim'on Peres fainted last night during a state reception given for him in Warsaw. He was treated in a room nearby by a number of doctors present at the reception, including Poland's minister of health. They concluded that the vice premier had suffered a sudden drop in blood pressure, and he was transferred to a government hospital in Warsaw.

Later, a senior physician at the hospital told the Voice of Israel that tests carried out last night were satisfactory and Mr Peres would be able to fly back to Israel as planned later this morning. Mrs Peres told us that she had spoken to her husband by telephone, and he said he was feeling fine.

Earlier at a news conference, Peres praised the Polish Government for offering to help move the Catholic convent at Auschwitz. Also disclosed yesterday was that Lech Walesa will visit Israel. He accepted an invitation from Vice Premier Peres. No date was set for the visit.

Concludes Visit, Leaves Poland

LD3011143289 Warsaw PAP in English 1053 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 30—Israeli Vice-Premier and Finance Minister Shimon Peres left Poland today after a three day visit during which he met top Polish officials and travelled to the former Nazi death camp in Oswiecim.

Peres, who suffered a fainting spell yesterday evening at a reception, was feeling better today but decided to travel back home with the assistance of a physician.

Improved Ties Welcomed

AU3011155189 Warsaw SLOWO POWSZECHNE in Polish 28 Nov 89 p 2

[Commentary by Piotr Jen: "A Return to the Past"]

[Excerpts] The arrival of Simon Peres in Poland places dialogue between Warsaw and Tel-Aviv on a new level. For more than 20 years, there was almost no dialogue whatsoever, and this caused significant harm to both sides. It caused Poland more harm in the sense that those who are not present cannot argue their case. It is not exclusively a question of trade links, which are easy to rebuild, as is borne out by the fact that trade between the two countries has grown from zero 3 years ago to $40 million annually nowadays. It is a question of a political presence in Israel itself and in the Middle East region, that is, in both sides in the conflict, in which Poland became in a certain sense indirectly involved as a result of the decision to break off diplomatic relations and all contacts with the Jewish state in 1967.

Of course, the current rapprochement with Israel does not in any sense have to mean that Poland's position regarding the conflict has changed. However, it must at least mean presenting our political and social interests in Israel, where not all believe that Poland is an open, free, and tolerant country. On the other hand, the rapprochement also gives a boost to contacts with the Jewish Diaspora. This is important in view of its position in the United States and in Western Europe. [passage omitted]

Of course, the question that arises is whether the Polish-Israeli rapprochement and the establishment of full diplomatic relations will not impact negatively on Poland's contacts with the Arab countries? To be able to answer the question, it has to be realized that the Arab world is different today. There is an Israeli ambassador in Cairo and the king of Morocco receives Israeli politicians (including Peres). The situation in the Middle East is clearly edging along to a situation in which it will be possible to find a solution to the longest conflict in the postwar world. That is why all the fears expressed in the question are unjustified. This cannot, of course, alter assessments of the rash decision to break off diplomatic relations years ago.

U.S. Presidential Mission on Official Visit

Mission Begins Visit

LD3011190889 Warsaw PAP in English
1155 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 30—A special mission of the U.S. President started its stay in Poland with a meeting at the Foreign Ministry here today.

The U.S. team leader Agriculture Secretary Clayton Yeutter met with Polish Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski.

They discussed issues connected with the U.S. economic aid and that provided by its allies. It was stated that the normalization of financial and credit relations lies at the foundation of the cooperation development.

Received by Mazowiecki

LD3011191389 Warsaw PAP in English
1311 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 30—Poland's Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki met here today with U.S. Administration and industry officials who came to this country with a special mission of the U.S. President.

Transformations in Poland are of fundamental significance among important changes that have taken place in Eastern Europe. They have been made on a peaceful and evolutionary road. We have a firm will to further make changes in the same way, stressed the Polish premier.

Leader of the U.S. team Agriculture Secretary Clayton Yeutter said that political reforms in Eastern Europe were preceeding economic ones but they had to converge at a point so that nations could reach a success. We are aware how little time you have to introduce economic reforms, he added.

Chairman of the White House Council of Economic Advisers Michael Boskin stressed that he was deeply impressed by logics and profound nature of the analysis of the economic programme providing for thorough economic reforms in Poland.

Pacts Signed on Food, Labor Aid

LD3011191989 Warsaw PAP in English
1341 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 30—An agreement on deliveries of U.S. food on favourable credit terms was signed during a meeting of head of the special U.S. Presidential Mission Secretary of Agriculture Clayton Yeutter with Vice-Premier and Minister of Agriculture Czeslaw Janicki. Both sides discussed the situation in Polish agriculture and food economy and possibilities to expand cooperation in this area.

Talks by members of the U.S. Presidential Mission, led by U.S. Secretary of Labour Elizabeth Dole, were held at the Ministry of Labour and welfare policy. She and Jacek Kuron signed a protocol of decisions on U.S. assistance in labour, with a special regard to professional training and mechanisms of market economy. U.S. assistance in labour market will total a million dollars.

PAP on Mission's Activities

LD0112123389 Warsaw PAP in English
2343 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 30—The special mission of President Bush of the United States met on Thursday with members of the Polish government and central institutions. Talks were also held between experts and businessmen from both countries.

Talk With Premier Mazowiecki

Agriculture Secretary Clayton Yeutter, Commerce Secretary Robert Mosbacher, Labour Secretary Elizabeth Dole and Chairman Michael Boskin of the Council of Economic advisers accompanied by a group of businessmen met with Polish Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki.

Your visit to Poland is proof that the question of assistance is entering a new phase: From declaration to realization. We find this very important in view of the pressure of time, Mazowiecki said. The prime minister thanked for the invitation from President Bush to visit the United States.

Chairman of the Mission Clayton Yeutter stressed the historic significance of changes in Poland. Political reforms in Eastern Europe outpace economic transformations, he said, but they must converge at some point if nations are to succeed. We realize just how little time for these reforms you have. Within a few weeks you must achieve what other countries were achieving through decades. We understand these problems, that is why we are here and declare the quickest assistance possible, he said.

Economic questions dominated during Clayton Yeutter's meeting with Poland's Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski. The talks focused on matters connected with the IMF acceptance of Poland's adjustment programme, credit agreements, normalization of relations with creditor countries, food aid and establishment of a stabilization fund to help Polish reform. The American side gave a favourable response to Polish postulates in that regard.

Talks About Agriculture

Before noon Clayton Yeutter met with Vice-Premier and Agriculture Minister Czeslaw Janicki to discuss a possibility to expand cooperation in agriculture. An agreement was signed on U.S. food suplies on beneficial credit terms.

Polish-American cooperation in agriculture, food processing and aid aimed at improved living standards in the countryside were also raised during Clayton

Yeutter's talks with Minister Artur Balazs. The American visitor said he saw a possibility of intensive cooperation in these fields but the Polish side must create a favourable political and economic climate. The Americans decided to give long-term assistance to Polish agriculture, he said. In the afternoon Clayton Yeutter visited a state farm in Leszno outside Warsaw and then a private farmer near Zakroczym.

Swiecicki-Mosbacher

Robert Mosbacher met for plenary talks with Minister for External Economic Relations Marcin Swiecicki. American businessmen and representatives of Poland's Ministry of Industry and Ministry for Environmental Protection also participated.

Kuron-Dole

Elizabeth Dole, accompanied by president of the AFL-CIO organization, Lane Kirkland, Polish American Congress President Edward Moskal and Chairman of the U.S. Business Council Beurt Servaas, met with Polish Labour Minister Jacek Kuron. The sides signed a protocol on American assistance with particular regard to professional training and mechanisms of market economy. The worth of American assistance for the Polish labour market will reach 4 million dollars. In the afternoon, Elizabeth Dole visited the Ursus Tractor Factory outside Warsaw.

Financial-Economic Group

Members of the financial-economic group met with Finance Ministry experts, National Bank of Poland officials and Minister Witold Trzeciakowski. The talks concerned Poland's balance-of-payments for 1990 in the context of debt repayment and the stabilization loan.

Cooperation in Telecommunication

Commerce Secretary Robert Mosbacher who met with Minister of Communication Marek Kucharski said that the U.S. Government had assigned 25 million dollars for modernization of Poland's telecommunication network. Both ministers signed a joint communique which stressed the need to work out a cooperation plan and to examine existing legal limitations and regulations concerning transfer to Poland of telecommunication technology and equipment.

Talks in Sejm and Senate

The leadership of the Presidential Economic Delegation met with Sejm and Senate speakers Mikolaj Kozakiewicz and Andrzej Stelmachowski. Mikolaj Kozakiewicz said Poland expected U.S. assistance on the international forum with a view to Polish debt reduction, he also thanked for the hitherto American assistance to the Polish nation. [sentence as received]

Clayton Yeutter said the American side expected the practical outcome of the visit to help Poles live through the difficult adjustment period. Investors from the United States want to know whether there will be a genuine market in Poland. This is the fundamental condition for their investing in Poland. We have tangible results that as far as this matter is concerned, the present government is motivated by right intentions which should be supported with facts in the near future, he said.

Visit Continues

LD0212134789 Warsaw PAP in English 2220 GMT 1 Dec 89

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 1—Bad weather and ensuing cancellation of flights to Gdansk prevented U.S. Agriculture Secretary Clayton Yeutter, now in Poland at the head of the U.S. presidential mission, from visiting the Polish coastal region. The American visitor went to a meat processing plant in Rawa Mazowiecka in central Poland.

Other members of the delegation visited a horticultural centre in Mysiadlo outside Warsaw. During talks, the American side disclosed the latest decision, made already in this country, to immediately grant Poland an extra 20 million dollars in soya beans and protein concentrates.

Labour Secretary Elizabeth Dole and Commerce Secretary Robert Mosbacher visited the Omig electronic plan in Warsaw.

Labour and Social Welfare Minister Jacek Kuron met with chairman of the White House Council of Economic Advisers Michael Boskin and a few other members of the delegation. The guests were interested in the planned social security system in conditions of switchover to market economy.

I think that the visit to Poland was very fruitful, instructive and productive, Michael Boskin told PAP. I tried to obtain maximum information about your needs and about what must be done to ensure your reforms' success and at the same time minimize difficulties which accompany them. I am convinced that this will help me to fulfill my task as adviser to President Bush who expects instructions how to help Poland in the best possible way in the period of introduction of market economy and democracy.

Some members of the mission visited Lower Silesia, among them William Ruckelshaus, chairman and chief executive officer in Browning-Ferris Industries dealing with utilization of waste.

The finance and banking groups continued their talks on Friday. The American experts were being acquainted with stages of realization of the economic programme planned for 1990 and with prosepects for internal convertibility and strengthening of the Polish zloty. They were also interested in development of the banking system, including establishment of banks with foreign capital.

Jaruzelski Meets Group Members

LD0212125689 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 2 Dec 89

[Text] President Wojciech Jaruzelski received representatives of the U.S. President's special mission in the Belweder Palace today. They presented their observations from visits to Polish manufacturing and agricultural enterprises. The results of talks between experts were also discussed. Wojciech Jaruzelski emphasized that the arrival of the delegation soon after the law on aid for Poland was passed by the Congress and signed by President Bush is another step on the path to developing cooperation between Poland and the United States.

Delegation Ends Visit

LD0212232989 Warsaw PAP in English 1726 GMT 2 Dec 89

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 2—The special U.S. presidential mission ended on Saturday their visit to Poland aimed at compiling information for a report for President George Bush to be instrumental in decisions concerning long-term bilateral cooperation and U.S. assistance to Poland.

The mission included three secretaries of state: Agriculture Secretary Clayton Yeutter who headed the delegation, Commerce Secretary Robert Mosbacher, Labour Secretary Elizabeth Dole, Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers Michael Boskin as well as sixty industrialists and experts.

On Saturday the American guests met with representatives of the Polish Government to sum up the outcome of the visit. Finance Minister Leszek Balcerowicz told PAP:

"The American side will quickly prepare a preliminary report on their visit while we will send a list of our demand for technological assistance and we will also confirm our priorities concerning financial aid. It seems that the visit was useful."

Clayton Yeutter told a news conference in Warsaw that the American delegation was most impressed by the programme of economic transformations in Poland. According to members of the mission. The Polish authorities presented the right recipes in that regard. He said the report on the visit would be handed to President Bush directly after his return from Malta and that the U.S. would establish a mechanism to coordinate contacts in Poland.

Yeutter said that the American side resolved to grant Poland an extra 20 million dollars in high-proteine fodder and pointed to the need for cooperation with a view to improving conditions of agricultural production and processing.

Robert Mosbacher promised continuation of American assistance to the private sector in Poland. Especially within means envisaged by the fund to promote entrepreneurship in Poland endorsed by the President just before the mission's departure for Poland.

Elizabeth Dole spoke about assistance in creating a "social shield" meant to protect employees in the period of economic restructuring.

Michael Boskin said that Polish leaders had a bold and consistent plan of introduction of economic changes. We count on them being a full success. He expressed the hope that negotiations with the International Monetary Fund would end still before Christmas. He recalled that the United States intended to add 200 million dollars to the one-billion-dollar stabilizing fund.

Boskin said the U.S. Government would help businessmen reach the Polish market. The U.S. Government will also focus on coordination of technological assistance on the part of highly developed countries, he said.

Clayton Yeutter added that the mission's report would also be presented to foreign ministers of countries whose representatives would meet in Brussels on December 13 to discuss help for Poland and Hungary.

The American Government wants to create a mechanism to coordinate this help. Experts' help can be America's biggest contribution to the development of the Polish economy, Yeutter said. Financial assistance is also important and we are going to provide it shortly. But foundations of stable development are most essential, he said.

Reportage of Lech Walesa's Visit to UK

Departs for London

LD2911181689 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] Solidarity Chairman Lech Walesa has left for London with a group of trade union activists. The leader of Solidarity, who is visiting Great Britain for the first time, is a guest of the British trade union confederation, TUC. The program of the visit envisages a meeting with Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher.

PAP on 2d Day in UK

LD0112023389 Warsaw PAP in English 0017 GMT 1 Dec 89

[Text] London, Nov. 30: On Thursday Lech Walesa and the Solidarity delegation held talks with British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd and Labour Party leader Neil Kinnock, took part in debates of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions ICFTU and attended a special session of the General Council of the Trades Union Congress TUC.

The Polish delegation includes Senator Bogdan Lis, Deputy Janusz Onyszkiewicz and Professor Janusz Beksiak. The ICFTU debate was attended also by Wlodzimierz Frasyniuk and Jerzy Milewski.

ICFTU Debate

The ICFTU Executive Council discussed international issues of the labour movement, including trade union problems in Eastern Europe and the USSR. Lech Walesa, who attended the meeting in the morning, told the debaters about the specific political and economic situation in Poland and about plans to call Solidarity National Congress in March.

At Westminister Palace

In the forenoon, Walesa arrived at the Westminister Palace where he met with Labour Party leader Neil Kinnock. In the talks Walesa pointed to the impact of economic transformations in Eastern Europe on political stability of the entire European continent.

Kinnock described Walesa as a man of great energy with a sense of Europe's prospects and its vision. The two leaders also discussed Poland's needs and the directions of Great Britain's assistance to Poland.

Meeting With Hurd

The Solidarity delegation met with British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd who stressed that Poland, which had initiated the democratic changes in Eastern Europe, was among top priorities of Great Britain's foreign policy.

Walesa appealed for Great Britain's involvement in stabilizing the processes of reforms in Eastern Europe.

A statement issued by the Foreign Office said that the talks passed in an exceptionally warm atmosphere while the discussion was very broad. Both interlocutors had concordant views on the situation in Eastern Europe. The British foreign secretary stressed the need for Poland to sign swiftly an agreement with the International Monetary Fund and to initiate such transformations of the Polish economy so that it could attract foreign investors.

Meeting With British Trade Unionist

After the meeting with Secretary Hurd, the delegation returned to the TUC headquarters to attend a special session of the TUC General Council which adopted a joint declaration of TUC and Solidarity on cooperation between the two organizations.

The British trade unionists obliged themselves to aid Solidarity in its strivings for expanding economic relations between Great Britain and Poland.

The two organizations appealed to the British Government for a positive response to proposals that aim to cut the Polish foreign debt. They resolved to cooperate within ICFTU to secure multilateral coordination of assistance and economic cooperation with Poland.

Also today, Walesa met with British publisher Robert Maxwell to discuss the prospects for cooperation with papers belonging to Maxwell.

Meets Industry, Trade Officials

LD0212045789 Warsaw PAP in English 0052 GMT 2 Dec 89

[Text] London, Dec 1—Mr Chairman, it is a pity that, unlike Ronald Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachev, you have not visited the London city hall. Please tell Premier Mazowiecki that we in the city are ready to help repair the Polish old mobile, contributing to the setting up in Poland modern financial institutions which will lever it. Roger Garside, London stock consultant, told today's meeting attended by Lech Walesa at the seat of the confederation of British Industry. Present were 300 representatives of biggest British firms, including Shell and ICI [Imperial Chemical Industries].

John Moorhouse, vice-chairman of the European parliament's foreign committee which had granted 300 million ECU (European Currency Units) (some 342 million dollars) for training of Polish managerial personnel asked Walesa how Great Britain might make up for delays in commitment to Polish economy in comparison with the FRG.

During the meeting offers were collected to provide training for Polish managerial staff following Confederation's President Trevort Holdsworth's appeal to training 18 thousand Polish managers within three years.

Walesa Calls on Westminister Archbishop

Later in the day Walesa was received by Archbishop of Westminster, Cardinal Basil Hume.

In reference to his personal contacts with Polish and to Friday's meeting between Pope John Paul II and Mikhail Gorbachev, Hume voiced the opinion that the great liberation movement in Eastern Europe had been started by Solidarity.

Next Walesa and Hume had a face-to-face talk for almost an hour.

After the meeting Hume stated that he was very happy he would receive Walesa on the day when John Paul II and Mikhail Gorbachev met at the Vatican.

Solidarity which was the first movement to have undermined the monopoly of the Communist power is respected owing to the fact that it conducts a vivid and responsible dialogue, does not resort to violence, recognises the rule of law and treasures human dignity. It brings renewal of society and relations at work whereas its experiences are worth supporting and studying.

The current healing of European wounds is a spontaneous action of people from the East. Pope John Paul II

is a spiritual and moral leader also symbolizing the deepest aspirations of Slavic peoples, while President Gorbachev, guided by a great vision, has boldy rejected the repressive policy and encourages for self-determination. Also the West needs catharsis and renewal. If it does not size this historic opportunity, it will be difficult to forgive it.

Meeting at Congress Hall

Tonight the Solidarity delegation met at the seat of the British Trades Union Congress (TUC) with representatives of British and international union movements with TUC Chairwoman Ada Maddox and General Secretary Norman Willis, parliamentarians, politicians and the diplomatic corps.

Today Walesa also visited the Hypertac enterprise of the Smiths Industries Group which had provided the Kielce-based "Iskra" factory with a complete production line, equips Polish ships with radars and donates apparatus to Polish hospitals.

Chairman of the Solidarity Foreign commission, Senator Bogdan Lis, accompanying Walesa, delivered a lecture at the Royal Institute of International Affairs here today. He presented his view on the German issue. The German nation has a right to reunification but this must be a long process and a component of general rapprochement in Europe, he stated.

Meets Thatcher, Appeals for Aid

LD0212140189 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1300 GMT 2 Dec 89

[Text] British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher received Solidarity chairman Lech Walesa today. He acquainted the head of the British Government with the transformations occuring in Poland at present. Press agencies report that Walesa appealed to Britain to double its aid to Poland.

This afternoon Walesa will meet with the British Polonia. [Poles living abroad].

Returns, Speaks on UK Talks

LD0312222889 Warsaw PAP in English 1858 GMT 3 Dec 89

[Quotation marks as received]

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 3—Solidarnosc Chairman Lech Walesa and an accompanying delegation of the Solidarnosc authorities, returned home today after their several-day visit to Britain.

Answering journalists' questions at the Warsaw Okecie Airport, Walesa said that this was his last foreign trip this year.

Asked to size up the visit by the Solidarnosc delegation to London, Janusz Onyszkiewicz, who accompanied Lech Walesa, told PAP:

"I have a conviction that a decision by the British Government, announced on the eve of the visit and thus in obvious connection with it, should be included in the results. Poland was granted 100 million pounds to stabilize our currency and additional funds for training and the know-how fund.

"I think that we managed to even more confirm Britons in a conviction that Poland is a country where British industry should appear to a much broader extent than so far. There is a need, at least for harmonious development of this part of Europe, for economic presence of various countries to be balanced and for political support for the process of democratic reforms in our region of the world to be combined with primarily economic support.

We received many important proposals. These are not final proposals but this is a clear and concrete interest. Let us hope that British industrialists will soon come with contracts ready for signing and that such contracts will be signed," Onyszkiewicz said.

PAP: "What significance did your meeting with Senior of Polish emigration in Britain Edward Raczynski have for you?

Walesa: "He is a Polish crystal that should be presented and shown to Poles. This is a man who devoted his entire life and everything what he had to Poland and because he lived in tragic times it happened so that his name was not mentioned in Poland for many years. This obligates us to show such heroes of the nation and teach patriotism the next generations on their examples.

PAP: "How much did Premier Margaret Thatcher approve of your appeal for Britain's commitment to Poland as a power?

Walesa: "I have a conviction that she approved. Even if I did not get a straight forward answer. Such was the sense of its implied meaning.

PAP: "What response did your call on the British Government to give political guarantees to investors thinking to start doing business in Poland draw from Mrs. Thatcher?

Walesa: "Mrs. Thatcher is a politician who highly values democracy and consults everything. She understood our efforts and I think that such a response will be given.

PAP: "You presented a concept of basing international security on the entire continent on the foundation that will be laid down from the fusion of tissues of the economies of individual countries, as in the case of the FRG and France. How did Mrs. Thatcher respond to it during the talks in Chequers?

Walesa: "I think that Mrs. Thatcher also inclines towards this concept. When I said that it was already two years old and got increasingly confirmed, she did not deny. And if one does not deny, this probably means that one agrees."

CTK Reports 'Negative Stand' on 1968

LD0112182189 Prague CTK in English 1609 GMT 1 Dec 89

[Text] Warsaw Dec 1 (CTK correspondent)—Poland maintains a very negative stand on the entry of troops in Czechoslovakia in 1968 which has been confirmed by the Polish Sejm and the Senate, Polish Government spokeswoman Malgorzata Niezabitowska told CTK here today.

She said this in connection with Wednesday's statement of Czechoslovak Premier Ladislav Adamec on the necessity of re- evaluating the entry of troops in Czechoslovakia in 1968.

She described the question of the presence of Soviet troops in Czechoslovakia as the internal affair of Czechoslovakia, or the affair of the two states involved.

GDR's Fischer Condemns Mistreatment of Poles

LD0112235489 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 1 Dec 89

[Text] There's still some news from our correspondent in the GDR.

[Urbanik] Polish-GDR talks on the situation arising after the introduction of restrictions in passenger traffic between Poland and the GDR, restrictions in transit and the introduction of restrictions in the sale of food and industrial goods, ended in the late evening in Berlin today. The chairman of the Polish delegation, Director-General of the Foreign Ministry Boguslaw Miernik, was received by GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer. During the meeting with the GDR diplomatic chief, the Polish side, as during the plenary talks, demanded the withdrawal of decisions striking at Polish citizens. The examples given to the GDR side of actions by the police and customs and trade employees are by nature discriminatory to Poles. These facts have brought about an anti-Polish psychosis in the GDR. Director Miernik emphasized the anxiety of Polish public opinion at the existing situation, and of the new Polish Government, which continues to be interested in maintaining good-neighborly relations of cooperation and friendship with the GDR. The Polish side categorically rejected the thesis regarding the destabilization of the GDR's internal market by Polish citizens.

Minister Fischer stated that the decisions of his government were aimed against persons engaged in speculation, and the cases which had arisen of the humiliation of Polish citizens were not the intention of the GDR authorities. The GDR side condemned these incidents involving Poles as disgraceful. Investigations are being carried out to find those who destroyed Polish cars. Incidents of incorrect interpretation of regulations by shop personnel were also condemned. However, the GDR side does not anticipate the withdrawal of the regulations, aimed at protecting the internal market. The 3-day talks ended without the adoption of a joint communique. This is Zdzislaw Urbanik speaking from Berlin.

Trade Union Federation Protest to GDR Premier

LD0412155389 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 4 Dec 89

[Text] The Federation of Independent Self-Governing Trade Union of Construction Workers, in letters to the GDR premier and to the chairman of the Federation of Trade Unions of Construction Workers, the building materials industry and the timber industry of the GDR, has protested against restrictions placed on Polish citizens and particularly workcrews working on building sites in the GDR. We believe, says the letter, that internal problems cannot be eased at the cost of persons fulfilling trade contracts. Unless the decisions of the GDR authorities are withdrawn, we will be forced to appeal to our workcrews to stop work and leave GDR territory.

Government News Conference on Foreign Affairs

LD0112205389 Warsaw PAP in English 1705 GMT 1 Dec 89

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 1—At a press conference held today, Government Spokeswoman Malgorzata Neizabitowska termed the talks between Tadeusz Mazowiecki, Mikhail Gorbachev and Nikolay Ryzhkov during the Polish premier's recent visit to Moscow as "a bilateral political profession."

Niezabitowska also broadly discussed the course of the visit, referred to the anti-Polish statement of Israeli tourism minister, presented a statement on Chancellor Kohl's address to the Bundestag, and condemned the recent anti-Soviet incidents in Nowa Huta.

Marek Dabrowski, a secretary of state at the Finance Ministry also took part, characterizing the government's plans aimed at stabilizing the economy next year.

Mazowiecki's Moscow Visit

"We went there with a feeling of a certain mission and with good will," stated the spokeswoman, adding: "We were received with good will and thus deem this mission as completed. It consisted in moving bilateral relations from a party to a state plane." Discussing the results of talks, Niezabitowska accentuated the greater readiness of the Soviet side to explain the Katyn crime. He also stressed the "toughness" of economic negotiations and the significant progress in issues of Poles residing in the Soviet Union.

On Anti-Polish Statement of Israeli Minister

"The statement on the alleged mass participation of Poles in the extermination of Jews during World War Two delivered in interviews by Israeli Minister of Tourism Gideon Patt stems from the same roots as the

myths about Polish anti-Semitism," Niezabitowska said adding that the criticism of Vice Premier Peres' visit to Poland contained in these interviews presumably served the tourism minister as an instrument in internal political ploys. The spokeswoman announced that Peres grew faint during a reception in Warsaw upon hearing about this statement and had to leave the reception. Poland wishes for relations with Israel to be based on common values and traditions. Peres' visit became an important step in this direction, she added.

On Kohl's Reunification Address

"The address of the FRG chancellor to the Bundestag on the reunification of Germany is being closely examined by the Polish Government." Niezabitowsak said, stressing the distinctness of two matters: the unity of the German nation and the permanence of Poland's Western borders. "The unity of this nation cannot materialize without account being taken of the status-quo in Europe. We received the lack of statements on the stability of borders in this address with no surprise," the spokeswoman said.

Anti-Soviet Incidents in Nowa Huta

Asked whether the recent anti-Soviet incidents in Nowa Huta could be considered a provocation, the spokeswoman said: "If this is not a provocation, it goes to show the tremendous infantility and social immaturity of the perpetrators." Niezabitowska added that the Soviet side was particularly sensitive to such events, which was understandable. "This is important for us, Poles, especially now, when we are demanding of the Soviet Union that it respect the graves of our countrymen and sites of our national remembrance. Such events do not serve our heading towards truly friendly relations, as those which were discussed during the recent visit to Moscow," the spokeswoman stated.

Economic Adjustment Program

"The key target next year will be to balance the budget by reducing subsidies, increasing the state's incomes from the process of privatization, introducing more stringent tax discipline, limiting the outflow of money, introducing full internal exchangeability of the zloty, putting taxes on wage increases. The stabilization loan from the West will be of big importance for the success of this undertaking," Dabrowski told newsmen.

Zloties Instead of Dollars

The so-called internal export will be eliminated in Poland in 1990. The state will cease issuing so-called dollar coupons. Starting July 1 of next year, one will be able to use zloties to purchase goods in stores like Pewex, Baltona and others which now sell for hard currency or the said dollar coupons.

Fall in Living Standard in Poland in 1990

Asked how the average Polish family will feel the effects of the economic stability program, Dabrowski replied: "There will be an at least dozen-so percent fall in real incomes, one should expect this. The fall in real consumption will not be so significant and will total 2-4 percent next year. However, a program of a social shield is an integral part of the adjustment program. All citizens as well as economic units will be subjected to significantly stricter financial limitations than thus far," Dabrowski said.

Poland and Arab World

At today's press conference Spokeswoman for the Polish Government Malgorzata Niezabitowska stated that the development of Polish-Israeli relations would not take place at the cost of Polish-Arab relations.

"The development of relations with Israel will not affect or take place at the cost of Poland's relations with Arab countries, Niezabitowska stated.

"Poland invariably comes out in favour of a peaceful settlement of the Middle East conflict on the basis of known U.N. resolutions, of respect for basic human rights, of guaranteeing the rights to self-determination to the Palestinian nation and the rights to safe existence within internationally recognised borders to all the peoples in this region (including the Israeli people)," the spokeswoman stated.

"To this end, Poland started dialogue with the sides concerned, coming out for the convening of an international conference on the Middle East under the auspices of the U.N.," Niezabitowska said.

Poland is getting ready to reestablish relations with Israel early next year, the spokeswoman added.

Sejm Session Resumes 1 Dec, Agenda Changed

LD0112103589 Warsaw PAP in English 0910 GMT 1 Dec 89

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 1 - The Sejm resumed debates at 9:00 hrs here today.

While opening the meeting, Deputy Sejm Speaker Tadeusz Fiszbach conveyed sincere greetings to miners, all the employees of the mining industry and other industries cooperating with it to mark the forthcoming holiday of miners, to be observed on December 4.

Some changes were introduced in the daily agenda. A Contitutional Committee will be appointed during the next Sejm meeting in connection with a proposal to enlarge its composition.

The Sejm is hearing a report on the government draft laws, namely, on establishing Office of Minister of Transport and Maritime Economy and the Office of Communication Minister.

PAP Summary of 1 Dec Session

LD0212002289 Warsaw PAP in English 2237 GMT 1 Dec 89

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 1—For the first time in its postwar history the Polish [passage indistinct] domain, Minister of Transport, Shipping and Comunication Adam Wieladek said that establishment of a separate Ministry of Communication ensued from experience of other countries. The government also thought it rational to situate the maritime economy as a separate sector of the ministry, he said.

Voters' Protests

Deputy Janusz Szymanski (PUWP) [Polish United Workers Party] presented a report on election protests. Thirty-nine such protests were lodged with the Supreme Court of which 37 concerned election of a deputy. Only in two cases the court ruled offence to the regulations of the election law which might have affected the course of elections. Both concerning mandates of the Polish Catholic-Social Union PZKS, in Warsaw and in Gdynia.

Both candidates were struck off the election list as persons whose names had been put forward by voters and not by the union's leadership. The candidate in Gdynia was struck off the list only after the first round of elections and only in this case the Sejm regulations Committee determined an essential infraction upon the election law which might have had an effect on the outcome of elections.

After a stormy discussion and voting with 240 votes for, 46 against and 55 abstentions the Sejm passed a resolution on by-elections in Gdynia within the PZKS mandate.

Draft Amendments

The Sejm adopted a resolution on the project of a central fund for development of science and technology in 1989. The 852-billion-zloty fund is to be made up of obligatory contributions on the part of enterprises and a state subsidy.

Polish science is in the state of decline similar to that of the early 1980s, with the share of budget outlays for research being much lower than the 60 per cent assigned in highly developed countries. The government should enforce punctual transfer of the obligatory payments, the deputies said.

The Sejm adopted Senate amendments to the law of November 16th, 1989, on special principles of socio-economic planning for 1990. 173 deputies voted for an amended law which ran counter to the position of the Legislative Committee and the Economic Policy Committee.

The Sejm also voted for an amended law on the constitutional tribunal. The amendment concerns the wording of the oath, so far involving a political declaration in the socialist spirit and from now on a declaration of faithful service for the Polish nation and to guarding the Constitution.

Deputies' Interpellations

The deputies demanded a ban on drying grain and fodder with exhaust fumes which practice, pledged Vice-Premier Czeslaw Janicki, will be abandoned as of next January 1st.

Another interpeliation concerned the outrightly symbolc price (between 1,000 and 1,500 zloties for hectare) of state-owned land sold to cooperatives.

[Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish at 2100 GMT on 1 December adds the following: "The 2-day meeting of the Sejm has ended. The Sejm has postponed the matter of electing the Constitutional Commission to the next meeting of the chamber on 7 December.]

13th Senate Meeting Begins 1 Dec; Agenda Set

LD0112141489 Warsaw PAP in English 1424 GMT 1 Dec 89

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 1—The Senate started its 13th meeting here today to take a stance on the laws passed recently by the Sejm which concerned the dissolution of ORMO (Civil Militia Voluntary Reserve). On changes in the organization of some supreme and central state administration bodies (including the liquidation of the Office for Religious Affairs), and the law on social fund of rural communities.

The daily agenda also includes a discussion on rights of war veterans and victims of Stalinist terror.

Approves Civic Militia Dissolution

LD0112184489 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 1 Dec 89

[Text] The Senate has been in session today. The law on the dissolution of the ORMO (Volunteer Reserve of Civic Militia) and the law abolishing the Office for Religious Affairs were unanimously approved.

The Senate adopted a resolution on regulating the rights of former soldiers from formations fighting for independence and against Hitler's and Stalin's terror. The Senate deemed it advisable to set up for this purpose a body acting under the name of a republican Tribunal. In its resolution, the Senate considered it necessary to deprive the ZBOWiD (Union of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy) of the right to decide on veterans' entitlements, without withdrawing the already granted entitlements, but granting such entitlements to, for example, the Union of Disabled War Veterans (ZIW), the Association of the Home Army (SAK), and the Union of Siberians.

Debates Legislative Initiatives

LD0212041889 Warsaw PAP in English
2317 GMT 1 Dec 89

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 1—At today's 13th meeting the Senate decided to put forward its first legislative initiative aimed to settle the scope of institutional and personal responsibility for political crimes committed on Polish citizens between 1939 and 1945 and also between 1945 and 1956.

The Senate considered as expedient to ponder upon the possibility of appointing a body called the Tribunal of the Republic. The Senate adopted a resolution in this respect.

The upper house of the Polish parliament approved of the bills recently adopted by the Sejm and concerning the dissolution of the Civil Militia Voluntary Reserve (ORMO), the liquidation of the office for religious affairs and naming the medical academy in Wroclaw after the Silesian Piast dynasty. As regards the bill on a rural social fund, the Senate proposed that the Sejm make several amendments of which the most important would be the liquidation of a central fund.

Next the debates focused on the rights of former soldiers of forces fighting for Poland's independence and of victims of the Nazi and the Stalinist terror.

The draft resolution was prepared by two Senate Committees of Human Rights and Law-Abidingness and of Legislative Initiatives and Procedure.

Chairman of the latter committee Tadeusz Zielinski stressed that society demanded that circumstances of the crimes revealed, perpetrators of political murders found, and perpetrators of totalitarian genocide, lawyers among them, be officially condemned while the parliament should forward appropriate initiatives.

It is our moral duty towards the victims of the terror, families of those murdered, the Republic, the senator continued. He suggested that a Senate committee prepare a legal concept of condemnation of those who, serving the criminal doctrine, inflicted heavy wounds on the Polish people.

This initiative should be preceded by a broad discussion at various forms, particularly among lawyers, to be held with moderation so as not to disturb peaceful coexistence with other nations.

The Senate adopted a resolution on the rights of former soldiers of forces fighting for Poland's independence and of victims of the Nazi and Stalinist terror with one abstention.

National Defense Committee Issues Statement

LD0112194189 Warsaw Television Service
in Polish 1830 GMT 1 Dec 89

[Text] The National Defense Committee (KOK) has held a meeting. We have received the following communique. Ladies and gentlemen, allow me to read it to you.

The Committee has examined the defense doctrine of the Polish People's Republic and discussed the basic tasks in the area of defense arising from it. The doctrine, taking into account an assessment of the international situation and current trends for its development, particularly in central Europe, and reiterating the unchanging will for dialogue and disarmament, defines the essence of national security and the fundamental needs and defense tasks of the state. The contents of the doctrine, after its final shape has been worked out, will be disclosed to the public.

The KOK has also acquainted itself with the state, tasks, and needs of the National Defense (MON) and Internal Affairs (MSW) Ministries. Their functions performed for defense and security, as well as political, moral, and financial conditions indispensable for their effective performance, were pointed out. Ensuring these conditions by the state and organized social forces lies in the interest of all citizens. Some negative facts and phenomena were pointed out against this background. The committee has considered it necessary to counteract everything which is objectively aimed against the defense capability of the state, our political transformations, and the economic programs, and against everything which is contrary to the tradition of tolerance and respect for feelings of other nations, which is a characteristic feature of Polish political cutlure, and to counteract everything that does not contribute to the eradication of crimes endangering the safety of citizens.

The president chaired the meeting. The premier, who is deputy chairman of the committee, also took part.

Polish Weaponry Being Adjusted to Civilian Uses

LD0112222889 Warsaw PAP in English
2052 GMT 1 Dec 89

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 1—In accordance with the programme of restructuring the Polish Armed Forces, further units have been disbanded, such as tank regiments, technical battalions, car transport battalions, etc.

Military equipment of these units is being adjusted to civilian needs. This year 400 tanks, 600 armoured personnel carriers, 700 artillery pieces and cannons will have been liquidated or adapted for civilian purposes.

Next year, another 450 tanks, 100 APC's and 200 artillery pieces wil be "disarmed" in the same manner.

There are special military facilities, like those in Opole and Jastrzebie, which do the job of liquidating weaponry withdrawn from service and adjusting it to civilian needs.

Deputy Chief of Civic Militia Appointed

LD0112103389 Wroclaw Domestic Service in Polish 1505 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Text] By a decision of General Czeslaw Kiszczak, deputy premier and Minister of Internal Affairs, Colonel Janusz Koronowski, head of the Voivodship Office of Internal Affairs in Wroclaw, has been temporarily delegated to the post of Deputy Commander in Chief of the Civic Militia.

Major General Janusz (Fereda), hitherto director at the Ministry of Internal Affairs, has been appointed for that period as acting head of the Voivodship Office of Internal Affairs in Wroclaw.

Leaders' Public Appearances for 22-28 Nov

AU0412153789

[Editorial Report] Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish monitored from 23 to 29 November reports the following appearances of Polish leaders (date and page of each report given in parentheses):

Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki received Luc van den Brande, Belgian minister of employment and labor, on 28 November. (29 Nov 89 p 2)

President Wojciech Jaruzelski received the main board of the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society on 22 November, to mark this society's 45th anniversary. (23 Nov 89 p 2) He received Joseph Iteni, speaker of the Swiss parliament, on 23 November. (24 Nov 89 p 2) He met with the leadership of the Polish People's Party [PSL], representatives of the leadership of the Polish Academy of Sciences, and representatives of self-management bodies of lawyers, on 28 November. (29 Nov 89 p 2)

Leszek Miller, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, attended a meeting with Finance Ministry employees belonging to the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] on 27 November. (28 Nov 89 pp 1, 2)

Marian Orzechowski, Politburo member and chairman of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Deputies Club, met with party aktivs in Wroclaw on 22 November and discussed Congress preparations. (23 Nov 89 p 2)

Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski received on 28 November the following new ambassadors, who are paying visits prior to taking up their mission: Rui Fernado Meiro Ferreiro of Portugal, Obino Richard Haambote of Zaire, and Lucas Panda Tavay of Zimbabwe. (29 Nov 89 p 2)

Drnovsek Sends Messages to Bush, Gorbachev

LD2511002889 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1629 GMT 24 Nov 89

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, Nov 24 (TANJUG)—On the occasion of the forthcoming U.S.-Soviet summit, to be held off Malta on December 2 and 3, Yugoslav Presidency President Janez Drnovsek has sent separate messages to U.S. President George Bush and Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev.

Yugoslav Foreign Minister Budimir Loncar presented the messages to the U.S. and Soviet ambassadors in Belgrade on Friday.

The messages support the two countries' orientation to conduct talks, which should contribute to the further promotion of the favourable political climate and the strengthening of peace and security in the world, also expressed in the documents of the ninth non-aligned summit.

Drnovsek said he expects the forthcoming U.S.-Soviet dialogue to also focus on the settlement of the serious problems in the world economic sphere, which is an integral part of the positive political trends.

Bush, Gorbachev 'Satisfaction' Noted After Talks

LD0312145689 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1330 GMT 3 Dec 89

[Text] Valletta, Dec 3 (TANJUG)—The Soviet-U.S. summit successfully ended on Malta today after a three-hour session. Instead of issuing a statement and holding a news conference, U.S. President George Bush and Soviet State and Party leader Mikhail Gorbachev appeared before the journalists and cameras in the large hall of the Soviet cruise liner Maksim Gorkiy to express their satisfaction with what they had done "on the way to achieve lasting peace".

George Bush addressed the journalists first and expressed the conviction that the Maltesian talks would make future safer and brighter.

Mikhail Gorbachev also expressed satisfaction with the outcome of the summit.

Gorbachev's and Bush's appearance before the journalists and cameras nevertheless became a news conference. It is unprecedented that two superpower leaders hold a joint news conference and observers maintain that this is obvious proof of the success of the meeting off Malta.

In reply to a question, George Bush said that if one summit can improve U.S.-Soviet relations, then it is this one.

Country Said 'Falling Apart' as Bloc Reforms

AU0112125589 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 24 Nov 89 p 2

[Momcilo Djorgovic commentary: "The Dictatorship of Changes"]

[Text] After the long and painful thaw of the dogmatic iceberg, 375 million people living on 23 million square kilometers of the earth—that is, in East Europe including the USSR, but not including Romania—have an exalted feeling of a page of history being not only simply turned, but torn apart. The stony-faced facades of the former authorities are simply evaporating, having no more strength to collapse. It seems that in this region nothing can be changed without the famous refrain "10 days that shook the world." An entire world of well-tempered socialism—bureaucratically hypnotized on behalf of a utopia that has long been betrayed—is sinking irretrievably and disturbing both the balances of forces that had been established to last and the divisions into interests and spheres in Europe and the world. They are not only broaching questions and uncertainties of the political future in their own countries, but also opening the possibility of reinterpreting all mutual relations in the world community.

Reforms in Poland have come to the point of freedom of travel, press, and association. Institutionalized pluralism has been adopted. Communists have stepped down without putting up any resistance. The freedom of the press and the right to gather and travel freely has been promised in the GDR. Reformer Hans Modrow is investing great efforts in forming a new government. A public trial of Erich Honecker has been announced. Freedom of the press, of assembly, and travel is enjoyed in Hungary. An opposition has been formed—a score of independent groups and parties have been founded and legalized. The former communist and workers party has been transformed into a socialist party. The first free elections will be held soon at which about 15 presidential candidates will appear. In Czechoslovakia, pluralism is thriving and spreading over to the official politics. Resignations and trials because of the Warsaw Pact intervention are being requested. In the USSR, one can notice the increasing freedom of press and gathering, as well as freedom to found parties and to travel. Officially, pluralism is not recognized but it in fact exists. Mikhail Gorbachev supports all changes in "fraternal" countries. Some independent groups such as Ecoglasnost and Ecology have appeared in Bulgaria, but there is still no pluralism. A group of party cadres who had at one time been expelled from the party as unsuitable were rehabilitated recently.

The experiment of building socialism "overnight" in a voluntarist way and in a symbiosis of charisma and totalitarianism has failed. Societies have torn themselves away and stopped serving as modeling clay to one party, even if it is "the best" party, an all-powerful party with unlimited sovereignty. It even happened that leaderships

were left without either the party or membership, and opposed by mutinous people.

And what is happening with Yugoslavia? Until yesterday, one believed that all possible changes in the socialist world would take place on our territory first and that that particular method and content of the changes would serve as a paradigm for all other socialist countries as well. For Yugoslavia has long been that "blank space" in the political atlas of socialism which was first to start unmasking Stalinism and going into socialism with a human face. Yugoslavs have long enjoyed political liberties which the citizens of the Eastern bloc could only dream about. And when the crisis began, we expected it to launch us into an even quicker process of liberating ourselves from the general dogmatic heritage. What happened in fact was a regression, a complete blockage, and a provincialization in relation to the world. Instead of overcoming the crisis, keeping pace with technological changes, establishing new legitimacy, developing democracy, and organizing new forms of political life, Yugoslavia is disoriented in time and space and falling apart within its own borders into estranged tribes with a stampede of hatred and inflation. Instead of a progressive case, it has become a clinical case. One's own drama is turned into a tragedy and the congress of party unification into a requiem for something that no longer exists. If Yugoslavia had any influence on the outside world, it would not make it turn to a detente, but to a new armament.

Will Yugoslavia take its own road again as it successfully did 40 years ago when it parted with Moscow, but this time going downhill? Will it close up like Albania and Romania, although we have recently been listening to passionate debates suggesting suspicion when boarding the European ship? Forthcoming congresses and marches of truth are only increasing dilemmas and who will keep this cart of political interests on the road? From East Europe we have received only the following: The dictatorship of changes is what is wanted, and by no means a dictatorship of hatred.

FEC Sees 'Worsening' in Domestic Situation

LD0312221189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2043 GMT 3 Dec 89

[Text] Belgrade, 3 Dec (TANJUG)—At today's session the Federal Executive Council [FEC], presided over by Ante Markovic, considered the current socioeconomic and political-security situation in the country which has come about in connection with the heralded protest meeting in Ljubljana and the events which resulted in connection with it.

The FEC, the communique from today's session stresses, has judged that the most recent events regarding the destruction of the SFRY Constitution, and isolation within republican borders, have caused a worsening in the difficult and complex socioeconomic and political situation in the country; the further exacerbation of which threatens the unity and integrity of the SFRY.

The overall situation in the country is increasingly burdened by resistance and the exacerbation of tensions just prior to key reform-based changes in the economic and political field, and the result is: The more difficult function of the Federation which has been going on now for a long time; the prevention of the implementation of the rights and competent authority of the state organs in the Federation; the increasingly frequent violation of constitutionality and legality; and the weakening of the principle of the responsibility of the republics and provinces for the development of Yugoslavia as a whole.

The FEC requests that all the forces of society concentrate on the further implementation of the economic reforms which are entering into their decisive phase, and ensure vital unity for the implementation of the reforms of the political system; specifically the reform of the state and the ensurance of the smooth functioning of the federation as a common, effective, law-governed and democratic state of all the nations and nationalities.

In its capacity as the SFRY Assembly's executive organ and in the interests of Yugoslavia as a whole, the FEC will employ all the measures within its existing constitutional powers to safeguard the unity, integrity and territorial wholeness of the SFRY, as well as a single Yugoslav market, respect for human rights and freedoms, and the consistent application of the SFRY Constitution and of federal laws on the entire territory of the SFRY.

To this end the FEC calls on the competent organs in the republics and provinces to take similar measures within their purview and immediately to put an end to all activities which violate the SFRY Constitution and which lead to further divisions and isolation within republican borders.

This is necessary in order to enhance Yugoslavia's reputation in the world, so important at the time when we need understanding and support for comprehensive reforms in the country and for their implementation.

The FEC will soon propose appropriate changes in the SFRY Constitution designed to guarantee the Federation the powers and rights necessary to conduct an efficient macroeconomic policy, especially in monetary, fiscal, and taxation sphere as well as in the domain of foreign economic relations. The changes will also specify the Federation's rights and duties in the area of security, defense, and foreign policy.

The FEC will insist that the SFRY Assembly adopt as soon as possible all the laws under Assembly procedure at the moment which are both a prerequisite for, and a vital factor of, a new economic system.

As part of its economic policy for next year the FEC will also come up with the proposal of the final section of its program for reducing inflation.

Under its constitutional powers, the FEC has decided to ask the SFRY Assembly to convene a joint session of its

two chambers to discuss all these issues and adopt appropriate measures, the FEC says in its statement.

Trade Union Confederation 'On Road of Reform'

LD0312144989 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1200 GMT 3 Dec 89

["'Where Is Yugoslav Trade Union Heading' by Milen Zukovic"—TANJUG headline]

[Text] Belgrade, Dec 3 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav trade union has also embarked on the road of reform. For the first time in the history of the country's socialist construction, the organization has come out with a draft independent programme which abandons the leading role of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

Such a move by the confederation of Yugoslav Trade Unions, regarded for years as an extended arm of the state and the League of Communists, would have been unthinkable until a year ago. Now, when many (?socialist) values are being questioned and when pluralism can no longer be stopped, the union has also opted for reform, at least verbally.

It is generally believed that the sudden emergence of the union's independent programme was not due to pressure from the membership but to the new conditions created by the federal government, which have also created room for the appearance of alternative union groups and branch unions, which are better suited to the market-oriented economy.

The draft programme, which will be the subject of a public debate until the next union congress in May 1990, envisages changes which lead to the organization's distancing from the party programme. The union also renounces the obligation to implement the party policy, while membership in the organization is voluntary and open to all, regardless of their political, religious, or national affiliations.

Under the proposal, the union would be an independent socio-political organization, subject to no influence from other socio- political organizations, management bodies or employers.

The union would not renounce its representatives in the institutions of the political system, but it does not intend to become a political party for the time being.

The document is rather vague as to the union's attitude to pluralism. It says that the organization supports free participation of new social subjects in social processes and that it is willing to cooperate with all who share its views on key issues. The draft programme, however, still insists on the delusion of unity of the working class and the struggle for its common interests.

The trade union organization has begun its transformation timidly, perhaps too much so, which is evident from the insistence on the common interests of the working class, instead of those of the employed.

Shortage of Money Threatens 14th LCY Congress

AU2811114589 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 18-19 Nov 89 p 13

[TANJUG report: "Not Enough Money Even for Invitations"]

[Excerpts] Belgrade—The decision of the delegates of the Federal Chamber not to approve the 4.5 billion dinars from the federal budget to convene the 14th Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] today came as a great surprise for those present in the premises of the LCY Central Committee in Novi Beograd. Not understanding the motives behind the assembly delegates' decision, the people in the Central Committee, although unofficially, openly anticipate that the lack of funds will threaten the holding of the LCY Congress.

This decision is considered exceptional, because all previous (postwar) party congresses have partly been financed by the federal budget. The 12th and the 13th congresses, for which the state provided about 30 percent of funds, were mentioned as examples. It is thought that the present demand for the same thing is not unusual. [passage omitted]

The Central Committee is unable to provide a total of 26 billion dinars. About 6 billion dinars was set aside from the membership fees which represent the main source of finances. An additional amount of 4.5 billion was promised to be paid out of the state funds. These funds have not been received yet, and the party leadership asked that this amount be revised to 11 billion dinars because of inflation. The party is also counting on 5.5 billion dinars from the federal budget for 1990 which would ensure sufficient funds for convening the congress.

However, the federal government reduced the revised amount of 11 billion dinars to 4.5 dinars, although yesterday even this new revised sum did not "get through" in the SFRY Assembly. The request for 5.5 billion dinars from the federal budget for 1990 has not been on the agenda yet.

Thus, the League of Communists has only 10.5 billion dinars to convene the congress scheduled to be held in 2 months time. It needs an additional 15.5 billion dinars. At present it is not known how these funds are going to be secured.

Two options have been mentioned: To ask the republican, provincial, and Army organizations to provide additionals funds, or to "knock" on the federal budget door again.

Last year, the LCY collected 212 billion dinars from membership fees. Out of this sum, the Central Committee received 10 percent or about 20 billion dinars (for financing regular activities of its organs and forums in the LCY). In the first 6 months of this year the LCY collected 350 billion dinars from membership fees and the Central Committee, according to the same principle, received about 35 billion dinars. Apart from setting aside

6 billion dinars for the congress, the rest of the money was spent on the LCY Central Committee plenums and other regular activities of the LCY organs and forums. [passage omitted]

FEC Proposes Increased Budget for 1990

AU2711175389 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 22 Nov 89 p 4

[J. Kesic report: "Budget Amounts to 1,390,724 Billion Dinars"]

[Excerpts] The federal budget for 1990 should amount to 1,390,724 dinars and should be 979.6 percent bigger than this year's budget. It should represent 9.19 percent of the country's social product. It is also envisaged that the rise in the federal government's funds will exceed the expected rise in prices next year by 273.6 percent.

The draft budget, which the Federal Executive Council today presented in the SFRY Assembly, explains in detail all the reasons for such a large increase in the federal budget. The following are the reasons: More funds have been envisaged for financing the Yugoslav People's Army and undeveloped republics and Kosovo, because this year they were 28.8 percent "short." The federation has also undertaken the obligation, starting with next year, to service exchange rate differences and interest on citizens' foreign currency savings, as well as to subsidize in full the interest on loans for agricultural production. [passage omitted]

The financing of the Yugoslav People's Army will require a total of 674.300 billion dinars or 48.5 percent of the budget. This includes 4.6 percent of the estimated national income which the Army receives regularly, part of the unsettled obligations for this year, and money to cover deficits in the fund for disability pensions. [passage omitted]

[The following passage appears boxed within the body of the item]

The Party Is Asking for 12 Billion Dinars

Although the last time they considered the federal budget the delegates of the Federal Chamber refused to approve 4.5 billion dinars for the convening of the 14th Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, the proposed budget for 1990 again contains the party's request for 12 billion dinars. This is only a request by the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, and the Federal Executive Council has not accepted it, nor has it included this figure in the total budget. [passage omitted]

Direct Secret Ballot Held for Belgrade Mayor

LD0312155889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1207 GMT 3 Dec 89

[Text] Belgrade, 3 Dec (TANJUG)—An initiative of the Belgrade Youth that the people of Belgrade should elect their own mayor is being implemented today. A great number of citizens went to the polling stations in their local communities to cast their votes in a direct and secret ballot as early as 0700 today. The candidates for this function are Slobodanka Gruden and Milorad Unkovic. In keeping with democratic practices, they publicly presented their programs for Belgrade's future development, will largely facilitate the decisions.

The polling stations in all the local communities will be open until 2100. All adult citizens and regular students over the age of 15 years can take part in this referendum of sorts. The final result of the voting will be a political obligation for the delegates of the city assembly, which is to be constituted tomorrow.

By 1200 over 115,000 Belgrade citizens, or 10 percent of the whole electorate, had taken part in the direct ballot. According to the Election Commission's figures; the highest turnout was registered in the municipalities of New Belgrade, Vracar, Zvezdara, and Zemun. There have not yet been figures from Cukarica, Grocka, and Mladenovac.

Bosnian Party Plenum Discusses Pluralism

AU2811134289 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 19 Nov 89 p 7

[M. Caric, D. Maric report: "Proposed Congress Resolutions Adopted," on session of Central Committee of the League of Communists of Bosnia-Hercegovina held in Sarajevo on 18 November]

[Excerpts] Sarajevo, 18 November—In the final stages of its pre-congress work, the Central Committee of Bosnia-Hercegovina discussed at today's session—the penultimate one in its present composition—the final proposed texts of resolutions which have been submitted for the 10th Republican Congress of the League of Communists. Three of these were presented earlier but the one on ecology was submitted later.

Although a debate was planned today on the lists of candidates for the highest party organs in the republic, it was postponed until next Friday.

The resolutions have otherwise been considered over several months in the party grass roots whence—to judge by today's introductory speeches—there have been few substantiated proposals for amendments. [passage omitted]

Milan Daljevic's suggestion that Bosnia-Hercegovina's stand regarding political pluralism should be better explained by specifically taking an orientation against its multiparty version initiated a debate that lasted several hours and which included frequent retorts and clarifications. Thus, Desimir Despotic expressed absolute disagreement with Daljevic's opposition to multiparty pluralism, while Meho Basic was more inclined toward the idea that the congress itself should decide on this. Milos Bajcetic warned of the possible consequences for the status and role of the Army in a multiparty system. Then

Medjovic spoke to explain that he did not see such an obvious danger from the possibility of a multiparty system appearing only as clashes between national parties.

It is not the task of the League of Communists to create competitors for itself and to consider political pluralism in this context, said Zijad Dizdarevic, but is to above all develop democracy in its ranks. Franjo Kozul also raised the question of whether the Communists should change the party or the work in it and Zoran Udovicic warned of the danger of a unique pluralist anarchy which could be caused by the excessively slow process of taking an orientation on the concept of political pluralism.

Asking to speak in his capacity as member of the committee for preparing the congress, Raif Dizdarevic pointed out that the question of a democratic social transformation, and particularly a political transformation, cannot be reduced solely to the question of supporting or opposing a multiparty system. Chairman Nijaz Durakovic also explained that the League of Communists does not agree to the essence of political pluralism being reduced solely to the question of a multiparty system. This was followed by retorts.

Milan Uzelac concluded the almost 5-hour long debate on this resolution—in which 30 members participated—with the suggestion that the text be elaborated on in the period up until the congress which will make the final decision on these resolutions. [passage omitted]

[The following passage appears boxed within the body of the item]

Party [stranacki] Leaders in Slovenia Quarrel About the Distribution of Places

I must say that a multiparty system for me, viewed from a historical prospective, is a move backward and not a step forward in the development of a democratic system and democratic practice. Look at Slovenia. Several parties [stranka] have been set up in Slovenia. Where can one perceive the way in which these parties operate as a new factor of the democratic participation by citizens in resolving everyday problems and making decisions about the road of further democratic development?

First of all, they have remained "little parties." No one can be heard in these parties except the leaders that founded them.

The leaderships of these small parties have now met around a roundtable within the Socialist Alliance. Around what? Is it around a discussion on how to promote the entire democratic practice in society or on how to distribute places in the Sociopolitical Chamber? They quarrel over the distribution of participation in the Sociopolitical Chamber. I must say that this is not a multiparty system and that we are in fact grafting onto our conditions something that we are copying from others, said Raif Dizdarevic.

Bosnia Party Condemns POLITIKA Articles

AU0112195689 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 24 Nov 89 p 5

[E.D. report: "Are We Discontented With POLITIKA's Policy?"]

[Excerpts] Sarajevo, 23 Nov—At a news conference held today, journalists were given a report by the Information Department of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Bosnia-Hercegovina. It deals with the stands which the Central Committee Presidium of the League of Communists of Bosnia-Hercegovina adopted at a session today and pertaining to the way journalists of the POLITIKA house are writing about activities, situations, and relations in the League of Communists of Bosnia-Hercegovina and the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

For a long time already, the "letter" says, newspapers published by the POLITIKA Newspaper Publishing and Printing Work Organization have been carrying articles which present the situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina in an almost completely negative light. They ignore democratic processes that have been opened in this republic. They place an excessive stress on conflicts there and create an impression about Bosnia-Hercegovina as being a republic in which only affairs happen. Principled stances that Bosnia-Hercegovina is supporting with a view to stabilizing situation in Yugoslavia and breaking down counterrevolution in Kosovo are being ignored. We are displeased with the way your newspapers are covering activities of the League of Communists of Bosnia-Hercegovina, it is said in the letter. From your newspapers, the public in the Socialist Republic of Serbia and Yugoslavia, which means in Bosnia-Hercegovina as well, cannot learn completely and objectively what communists of Bosnia- Hercegovina think about the essential issues pertaining to reform of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia nor can it learn about their preparations for the 10th Congress of the League of Communists of Bosnia-Hercegovina and the 14th extraordinary Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

Negative Selection

All newspapers of the POLITIKA house, the letter goes on to say, have recently been drawing an untrue picture of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina in which an anti-Serbian feeling has been created; in which Serbs are put into a subservient position, and pressured to emigrate. The public is told lies about the alleged escalation of Islamic fundamentalism in the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina. Penetration into the republican leadership and some specific stands of the organs of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina are directly linked to such alleged forces and tendencies. [passage omitted]

Such a treatment of Bosnia-Hercegovina and the League of Communists of Bosnia-Hercegovina upsets the public

in Bosnia-Hercegovina and fosters interethnic distrust and friction, as it creates an unreal and untrue picture of Bosnia-Hercegovina, its peoples and nationalities, to the public of the Socialist Republic of Serbia. Such an approach suits nationalists of all hues and at the same time fosters paternalist tendencies in the Socialist Republic of Serbia. [passage omitted]

We consider it unacceptable that your correspondents in the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, Mirko Caric, Muharem Duric, and Dragoljub Stefanovic, who have been living here for a long time and have had the opportunity to acquaint themselves with real events in Bosnia-Hercegovina and who have all means of information at their disposal, have created with a large number of their articles a picture of the League of Communists of Bosnia-Hercegovina and Bosnia-Hercegovina which will have grave consequences for interethnic relations and relations between the League of Communists of Bosnia-Hercegovina and the League of Communists of Serbia.

Therefore, we expect you to take corresponding actions to ensure that the manner in which articles are written on the League of Communists of Bosnia-Hercegovina complies with professional and ethical norms. If that is not done, we will have to withdraw credentials given to your journalists Mirko Caric and Dragoljub Stefanovic to report on the work of the League of Communists of Bosnia-Hercegovina. We will unfortunately be forced to take such a measure, it is said in the letter sent by the Central Committee Presidium of the League of Communists of Bosnia-Hercegovina to the collegium of chief and responsible editors of the POLITIKA Newspaper Publishing and Printing Work Organization.

Bosnia Party Views Issues in Precongress Session

AU0312213689 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 25-26 Nov 89 p 12

[M. Lucic and E. Demirovic report: "The Clear and Explicit Views of the Bosnian Communists"]

[Excerpts] Sarajevo, 24 Nov—The preparations for the December congress of the Communists from Bosnia-Hercegovina have entered the final stage. Today, the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Bosnia-Hercegovina discussed topical issues concerning preparations for the congress and adopted a proposed list of candidates for the top posts in the party, republic, and the country.

In his introductory speech, Milan Uzelac stressed that the most important gathering of the Communists from Bosnia-Hercegovina has been labeled a congress for initiatives and creating opportunities, despite the fact that is being held under extremely difficult political conditions. What makes the situation more difficult for the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Bosnia- Hercegovina are the persistent claims that the League of Communists of Bosnia-Hercegovina does not have a plan on how to overcome the crisis while the others do, Uzelac said. However, he also stressed that one must not ignore the fact that during the precongress preparations the League of Communists of Bosnia-Hercegovina established its views on the key issues concerning the development of the republic and the country, and the role therein of the League of Communists.

He explained that the resolutions proposed have clarified a number of issues concerning economic and technological development, that the party has adopted stands on the key issues regarding changes in the political system, and that it has presented precise stands on interethnic relations. Therefore, Milan Uzelac continued, the assertions that question the definitiveness of the positions and stands of the League of Communists of Bosnia-Hercegovina, or cast doubt on the clarity and accuracy of the program orientation of the preparations for the 10th Congress of the League of Communists of Bosnia-Hercegovina and the 14th extraordinary congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia are absolutely unacceptable. [passage omitted]

During the discussion of the first topic on the agenda, the precongress preparations, many speakers broached the issue of public information media, particularly the writing in the latest issue of AS and the article entitled "Will the People Enter the Political Stage in Bosnia-Hercegovina?" which was accompanied by a list of names of some 80 people branded as the enemy of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina and Yugoslavia.

Dragan Kalinic, the first participant in the discussion, wondered about the meaning of the move to publish this article in the latest issue of AS immediately before today's session which is supposed to nominate the candidates for the organs of the League of Communists of Bosnia-Hercegovina and Yugoslavia, and prior to the congress itself. Kalinc holds that this article directly deepens interethnic divisions in Bosnia-Hercegovina. [passage omitted]

Dzevad Tasic said that what was published in AS cannot be interpreted in any way but as a conscious political act whose aim is to cause divisions in, above all, the Bosnian leadership and the League of Communists of Bosnia-Hercegovina before the congress. "Therefore, I think that it is not undemocratic and unprincipled for this Central Committee to say that this article should be resolutely rejected as clearly politically motivated," Tasic said.

Fuad Muhic also said that AS should not have published this article. [passage omitted]

Several participants in the discussion spoke about the letter which the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Bosnia-Hercegovina has sent to the POLITIKA editorial board. Zoran Udovcic said that the League of Communists must publicly express its views on all issues with which it disagrees, that it should publicly polemicize and seek denials and

replies. He also opposed the view that POLITIKA journalists should be deprived of their accreditation. Zia Dizdarevic agreed.

Raif Dizdarevic said that nobody has the right to abuse the position of Serbs and Montenegrins, or to usurp the right to do things on their behalf that would lead toward the destabilization of Yugoslavia and serve the interests of those forces which want to prevent the successful creation of a constructive atmosphere for the successful outcome of the republican congresses and provincial conferences.

According to him, the meeting in Ljubljana, the way it has been announced, with all its bullying characteristics and threats, could have tragic consequences and that all sensible people must oppose those forces which want this rally to take place at any price.

Kucan Speaks About Serb Rally in Ljubljana

AU0112122789 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 24 Nov 89 p 3

[Excerpts] Ljubljana, 23 Nov—We publish essential portions of the speech delivered by Milan Kucan, president of the Central Committee Presidium of the League of Communists of Slovenia, at the University Clinical Center celebrations of the 29 November holiday:

The occasion for our festive memorial meeting here, according to annual tradition, is Republic Day. However, because of the more and more deeply felt political rudeness and because of the events in our common and private lives, this evening does not allow us to remain as detached as we might have been able to be in years past. [passage omitted]

What is now menacingly approaching on 1 December as an indication of the relations that will rule in Yugoslavia in the future, with the authority deriving from fear and willful acts instead of authority deriving from the Constitution and the law, only shows how right it was that we adopted the amendments to the Slovene Constitution. I believe that the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia will take this into consideration and will thus confirm that these amendments as well as the work on the new Constitution are merely a factor of democratic bonds and strengthening of Yugoslavia and not a point of constant quarrels and differentiations.

Our decision for Yugoslavia cannot excuse such a policy. The result of this policy are the pogroms which people naively resort to in their misfortune and misery, thinking that this leads them out of the blind alley iito which they have been pushed by the politics symbolized by the Kosovo Polje committee with its "export of truth." It cannot provide a guarantee for our loyalty to a Yugoslavia that in its relations and substance of life obviously is departing more and more from what bonded our peoples 46 years ago when Yugoslavia was founded.

Presidency's Lost Opportunity

The mistrust of the people in Slovenia for the federal organs is great. They expect these organs to guarantee the sovereignty of the republics, as our first postwar Constitution used to do, that the organs will be the chief guarantor of the rights of citizens and peoples, and a guarantor of the equality and freedom of the republics. However, some organs of the federal state indulge in political condemnation of the constitutional amendments of a sovereign republic, the amendments that try to consolidate and protect these basic constitutional principles. Now that overt threats to the sovereignty of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia have been uttered and the constitutional order of Yugoslavia is indeed endangered, when it seems legitimate to accuse Slovenia of separatism, when peace in the country is threatened and a march on Ljubljana is announced with forebodings of a bloody clash, some of these organs do not display an even approximately equal amount of zeal for acting in conformity with their responsibilities and defend the constitutionally determined rights and the position of everybody, which includes our republic. Nevertheless, the bland and contradictory statement by the Presidency probably comes as a surprise because people expected a clearer stand. [passage omitted]

A Guest Is Welcome if Invited by the Host

Such an atmosphere occurs ever more frequently. It is created by the demand to hold a meeting of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo Polje in Ljubljana. Even if we leave aside the fact that the date [1 December] has become a symbol for a Yugoslavia that we do not want, because in contrast to the expectations of the protagonists of the Yugoslav idea it established the hegemony of one people or rather its bourgeoisie over others and is thus in itself a considerable political provocation, it must at least be said that a guest is welcome if he is invited by the host. There have been plenty of examples to show what such "well meant" expeditions are like in the communities to which they have not been invited, and what irreparable consequences they leave behind. It is proper that the truth of the Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins be heard in Slovenia. Nobody opposes this. We have said many times that we oppose the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from their homes and violence against them, but we have also said that we do not believe that a policy of repression can make coexistence of peoples possible. Their fate is sad and tragic, just as the fate of all Kosovo people, including the Albanians, is essentially tragic in its consequences because of senseless policies.

The noise of the meetings and marches by the well-known itinerant groups with their calls to arms and the nationalist violence that has begun to provoke fear does not in the least contribute to the truth about Kosovo, and to the perception of this truth and its credibility. I am convinced that it is right that our administrative organs have responded negatively to this cynical demand. The Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia as the

highest organ has taken the same stand. This conduct is legitimate and in accordance with the publicly expressed will of our peoples who have resolutely rejected a meeting of this kind. The meeting was rejected by those for whom this march of truth on Slovenia was intended, because they were convinced that it cannot generate anything but another outburst of national passions and irreparable divisions.

We Will Protect Our Citizens

As a sovereign and legal state, the Slovene state will ensure the implementation of its organs' decisions with constitutional means and it will protect its citizens. Much more is involved than merely endangering public peace and order. The disregard for these decisions—by the fomentors of the meeting and others—denies the Slovene sovereignty and statehood, the sovereignty of the Slovene people. The Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia is obliged to protect this—which is to say the integrity and sovereignty of Slovenia. This is its position and I am saying this with its consent. It cannot assume responsibility for the consequences if anyone in Yugoslavia, following the well-known recipes, should wish to exploit this for a pretext to proclaim a state of emergency in Slovenia, to stop the obviously disturbing processes of democratization, and to suspend political rights of citizens. With the elections in the spring, the citizens of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia will elect in a democratic way a leadership that will enjoy their confidence, in case anybody doubts that the present leadership lacks the support of the majority of our people. [passage omitted]

Serbia To Cut Economic Relations With Slovenia

AU0112154789 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 1 Dec 89

[Text] Serbian businessmen fully support the appeal of the Serbian Socialist Alliance of Working People and are already talking about discontinuing cooperation with Slovene firms. About 130 directors of Belgrade work organizations unanimously supported the proclamations issued by the Serbian Socialist Alliance of Working People and the recommendation to break off business cooperation with the Slovene economy. The business boards of several organizations have already come to this decision and they are as follows: Jugopetrol, Centroprom, Ateks, and the Association of Small Businesses.

Here is a report from the meeting in the Belgrade Chamber of Economy by Olivera Stajic:

What happened in the last few days between Serbia and Slovenia was the main reason for discussing the problems which have been bothering the Serbian economy for many years. This primarily refers to its relations with the Slovene economy. The director of Genex, Milorad Pavicevic, said that the time is ripe to stop the long- lasting injustice and Slovenia's privileged position. Serbia has been Slovenia's source of raw materials and an open market for its goods for a long time without insisting on reciprocity. In the last 20 years or so, Slovenia has almost been closed for all goods from other parts of the country.

The businessmen who gathered in the Belgrade Chamber of Economy were of the opinion that the break in cooperation will not affect the business operations of their organizations too much. They also think that they can import all semi-finished products which up until now they obtained from Slovenia. Belgrade businessmen were also surprised by the attitudes of Slovene businessmen, who failed to comment on the latest events and show at least some understanding for the situation in Serbia.

It was concluded that Belgrade's economic task is to implement the adopted decisions as of tomorrow. Meanwhile, all production plants should be engaged to the maximum so that the people do not to feel a shortage of consumer goods.

Novi Beograd SAWP Condemns Slovene Leadership

LD0312220689 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1821 GMT 3 Dec 89

[Text] Belgrade, 3 December (TANJUG)—At today's extended session of the Presidium of the Novi Beograd SAWP [Socialist Alliance of Working People] Municipal Conference in connection with the decision of the Slovene leadership to prevent by force the holding of the protest meeting in Ljubljana, concern was expressed and full support was given to the declaration by the Presidium of the Serbian SAWP Republican Conference.

The dissatisfaction of working people and citizens of Novi Beograd with the measures taken by the Slovene leadership is all the greater when it is known that this leadership supported the strikers in the Stari Trg mine and the use of force in Montenegro, and permitted on its territory protest meetings by Albanian nationalists and separatists.

The conclusions stress that the closing of republican borders and the threatening with force those people who set out to tell the truth about Kosovo represents a crude violation of human rights and freedoms. In this way, Slovene pseudodemocracy, which leads nowhere except to the breakup of Yugoslavia, was unmasked. How else is one to assess the action of arresting a war invalid with a Yugoslav flag or a citizen merely because he was holding a newspaper which comes out in the SR of Serbia? We believe that these measures of the Slovene leadership are not supported by the Slovene people and it is only in this that we see any hope of overcoming the situation which has come about.

At the session of the Presidium of the Novi Beograd SAWP Municipal Conference a request was made for the responsibility to be established of Janez Drnovsek, president of the SFRY Presidency, because of his benovelent stance vis a vis the actions of the Slovene leadership, and there was sharp condemnation of the statement by SFRY Presidency member Dr Stipe Suvar in NEDJELJNI

VJESNIK. Suvar's malicious insinuation concerning the aim of the participants in the envisaged protest meeting—the destruction of the Slovene leadership—as well as his so-called expert assessment that as many as 50,000 new jobs could have been created in Kosovo from the funds spent on protest meetings, are particularly sharply condemned.

Ljubljana Militiamen Counter 'Provocations'

AU0112175189 Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovene 1430 GMT 1 Dec 89

[Report by Marjan Jerman]

[Text] About 40 to 50 people gathered in Revolution Square in Ljubljana at noon today in order to express, in the presence of journalists, their dissatisfaction with the ban on meetings. Of course these people were workers from other republics, primarily from Serbia.

In front of a considerable number of journalists, they virtually competed in denigrating Slovenia, its leadership, and Slovene democracy, which is nothing but a farce, as they were anxious to state to the cameras and microphones.

Militiamen, of course, warned the people that gatherings are banned and asked them to disperse, but (?many) did not want to understand and, when asked, pointed their fingers at the militiamen for the benefit of the cameramen and reporters as if to say, just look at Slovene democracy.

So-called rubbernecks who happened to be in the vicinity of Revolution Square considerably obstructed the militiamen. Of course, the event did not pass without provocations, but our militiamen prevented them all in a very correct manner.

Some (?persistent) meeting supporters, or rather those who violated public peace and order, were taken away by the internal affairs organs.

Most people gathered around the Belgrade and Novi Sad television teams in front of whom individuals poured out their statements, as I have said, and competed as to who could say more about Slovene quasi-democracy. At 1300, some 20 of them gathered in the Orthodox Church where the journalists, or rather the cameramen and reporters, took their pictures and recorded their statements. This happened inside the church. Individuals again gave interviews and asserted to the journalists how difficult they find living in Slovenia.

An attempt at provocation occurred in the church, too, but the provokers were warned that they were in a house of God and that this was not the proper place for shouting and scolding the Slovene people.

All in all, it was a game which appeared to run according to a scenario for Serbian and Montenegrin journalists.

Slovene Socialist Alliance Responds to Serb Call

AU0112173189 Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovene 1430 GMT 1 Dec 89

[Text] Let us hear the statement issued by the Executive Committee of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Slovenia:

Events of recent days, extortions and threats, slights, and humiliations have been the culmination of pressure on our views of life in a federal state community. The national and cultural variety of the Yugoslav peoples and nationalities is an incentive to development and not a source of quarrels and conflicts. Yugoslavia can now no longer be molded and justified by the symbolic values of yesterday. Thus, 1 December cannot replace 29 November, Republic Day.

We are in favor of strengthening the well-known principles of our common life, of a full affirmation of the national states, of a modern federal state, an efficient, materially rich, and technologically progressive democratic federation, striving for development, as a part of united Europe that is equal in rights and values. We decided in favor of such a life with the 1989 Basic Charter of Slovenia, signed and supported by numerous signatories of citizens of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, regardless of their ethnicity, and we have legally entrenched it with the amendments to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia.

Therefore, we have said and will say a resolute 'No' to all the attempts which, because of real or apparent care for the life of the Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo, aim to introduce a new, totalitarian social order in Yugoslavia. We do not recognize an all-embracing control by a single redeeming truth, political uniformity, authoritarianism and intolerance, ideological monolithism, and a centralist and unitary state that wish to abolish the equality of peoples and nationalities.

The decision to ban the march in Ljubljana was adopted by the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia and has obtained the full support of the people of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia. The organs of internal affairs act to perform the tasks of the law-governed state. We have defended democracy and the way of life attained in Slovenia, and we will do so with all legal means.

We have voluntarily decided in favor of Yugoslavia. We will not allow anybody to chase us and to push us out. Yugoslavia is our state. We, the citizens of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, have the right to exist and to be different. Whoever fails to recognize this, eliminates himself from a federal state. The imposition of uniform ways in politics and life, and the demands that differences should be removed by force lead Yugoslavia into a social system of a balance of fear, into splits, and violence.

We are, therefore, astonished at the request of the Presidium of the Republican Conference of the Socialist

Alliance of Working People of Serbia, which calls on all the institutions and all work organizations of the Socialist Republic of Serbia to break all ties with Slovenia. We assess this as a flagrant violation of all constitutional, legal, and civilizational norms. We cannot understand that the champion of such ideas and calls is the Presidium of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Serbia, which conversely should search for ways of understanding and cooperation.

In defense of the sovereignty of the Slovene people, the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, the AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia], Yugoslavia, and in our striving for the creation of good interethnic relations, we resolutely reject the proclamation by the Presidium of the Republican Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Serbia.

Life in Slovenia 'Runs Normally' Presidency Notes

AU0112190789 Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovene 1800 GMT 1 Dec 89

[Text] We have just received a statement issued by the Presidency of Slovenia at its session:

The Presidency of Slovenia again met today and, on the basis of a report by the Executive Council of the Slovene Assembly and the respective administrative organs, noted that, despite some minor infringements on the ban of meetings, life in the Socialist Republic of Slovenia is running quite normally, without any interference or obstruction.

In the assessment of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, the high civil consciousness of the people of Slovenia and the measures taken by the executive organs and their consistent implementation have chiefly contributed to this. The present situation thus confirms that the measures selected and implemented have been correct, for they ensured public peace and order and protected the life and property of the people.

The Presidency of Slovenia also noted that all the respective organs have acted in conformity with their powers and their tasks.

Restrictions on Civilian Movements Lifted

Transportation Ban

LD0112214189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2039 GMT 1 Dec 89

[Text] Ljubljana, 1 Dec (TANJUG)—By a decision of Tomaz Ertl, the republican secretary for internal affairs, the decisions restricting movements and the ban on transportation in the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, which were adopted on 30 Nov, are no longer in force as of tomorrow. Thus, only the third decree relating to the ban on citizens gathering in public places in groups of more than 30 people still remains in force.

Public Meetings

LD0312214789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1809 GMT 3 Dec 89

[Text] Ljubljana, 3 December (TANJUG)—The special measures which the republican secretary for internal affairs introduced on 30 November are no longer applicable in the Socialist Republic [SR] of Slovenia beginning today. After the Presidency of the SR of Slovenia established that the situation in the republic is normal, the Republican Secretary for Internal Affairs Tomaz Ertl annulled the third and final decree relating to the meeting of citizens in public places. In this way all the measures which the Slovene secretary for internal affairs, in keeping with the orientations of the Presidency of the SR of Slovenia and the stances of the Executive Council of the Assembly of the SR of Slovenia, introduced in order to ensure security in the area of the SR of Slovenia, have ceased to apply.